

ADDITIONAL  
DISCOURSES  
OF

Mr. Chillingworth.

The FOURTH EDITION.

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GUIL. NEEDHAM, R. R. *in Christo*  
*Patri ac Domino, Wilhelmo Archiep.*  
*Cant. à Sacr. Dom.*



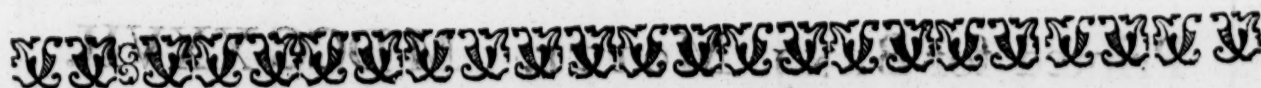
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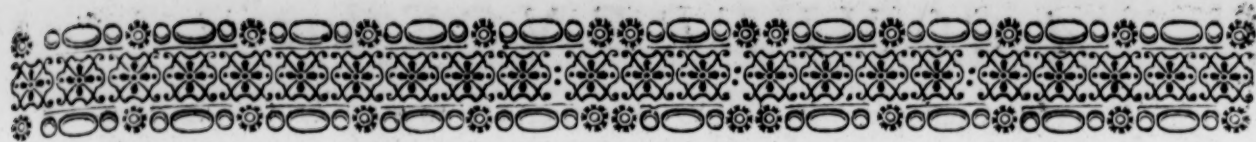


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A





A  
CONFERENCE

BETWIXT

Mr. CHILLINGWORTH,

AND

Mr. LEWGAR.

*Thesis.*



HE Church of *Rome* (taken diffusively for all Christians communicating with the Bishop of *Rome*) was the Judge of Controversies at that Time, when the Church of *England* made an Alteration in her Tenents.

*Argu.* She was the Judge of Controversies at that Time, which had an Authority of deciding them. But the Church of *Rome* at that Time had the Authority of deciding them. *Ergo.*

*Answ.* A limited Authority to decide Controversies according to the Rule of Scripture and universal Tradition, and to oblige her own Members (so long as she evidently contradicted not that Rule) to Obedience, I grant she had; but an unlimited, an infallible Authority, or such as could not but proceed according to that Rule, and such as should bind all the Churches in the World to Obedience, (as the *Greek Church*) I say she had not.

*Quest.* When our Church hath decided a Controversy, I desire to know whether any particular Church or Person hath Authority to re-examine her Decision, whether she hath observed her Rule or no; and free themselves from the Obedience of it, by their particular Judgement?

*Answ.* If you understand by your Church, the Church Catholick, probably I should answer no; but if you understand by your Church, that only which is in Subordination to the See of *Rome*, or if you understand a Council of this Church, I answer, yea.

*Argu.* That was the Catholick Church, which did abide in the Root of Apostolick Unity: But the Church of *Rome* at that Time was the only Church that did abide in the Root of Apostolick Unity. *Ergo.*

*Quest.* What mean you by Apostolick Unity?

*Answ.* I mean the Unity of that Fellowship wherein the Apostles lived and died.

*Quest.* Wherein was this Unity?

*Answ.* Herein it consisted, that they all professed one Faith, obeyed one Supreme Tribunal, and communicated together in the same Prayers and Sacraments.

*Solut.* Then the Church of *Rome* continued not in this Apostolick Unity; for it continued not in the same Faith, wherein the Apostles lived and died; for though it retained so much (in my Judgement) as was essential to the Being of a Church, yet it degenerated from the Church of the Apostles Times, in many Things which were very profitable; as in *Latin Service*, and Communion in one Kind.

*Argu.* Some Church did continue in the same Faith wherein the Apostles lived and died: But there was no Church at that Time which did continue in the Apostles Faith, besides the *Roman Church*. *Ergo.*

*Answ.* That some Church did continue in the Apostles Faith in all Things necessary, I grant it; that any did continue in the Integrity of it, and in a perfect Conformity with it in all Things expedient and profitable, I deny it.

*Quest.* Is it not necessary to a Church's continuing in the Apostles Faith, that she continue in a perfect Conformity with it, in all Things expedient and profitable?

*Answ.* A perfect Conformity in all Things is necessary to a perfect Continuance in the Apostles Faith; but to an imperfect Continuance an imperfect Conformity is sufficient; and such, I grant, the *Roman Church* had.

*Quest.* Is not a perfect Continuance in the Apostles Faith, necessary to a Church's Continuance in the Apostolick Unity?

*Answ.* It is necessary to a perfect Continuance in Apostolick Unity.

*Argu.* There was some one Company of Christians at the Time of *Luther's* rising, which was the *Catholick Church*: But there was no other Company at that Time, besides the *Roman*. *Ergo*, the *Roman* at that Time was the *Catholick Church*.

*Answ.* There was no one Company of Christians, which, in opposition to and exclusion of all other Companies of Christians, was the *Catholick Church*.

*Argu.* If the *Catholick Church* be some one Company of Christians in opposition to, and exclusion of all other Companies, then if there was some one Company, she was one in opposition to, and exclusion of all other Companies: But the *Catholick Church* is one Company of Christians in opposition to, and exclusion of, &c. *Ergo*, There was then some one Company which was the *Catholick Church*, in opposition to, and exclusion of all other Companies.

The *Minor* is proved by the Testimonies of the Fathers, both *Greek* and *Latin*, testifying that they understood the Church to be *one* in the Sense alledged.

1. If this Unity, which cannot be separated at all or divided, is also among Hereticks, what contend we farther? Why call we them Hereticks? *S. Cypr. Epist. 75.*

2. But if there be but one Flock, how can he be accounted of the Flock, which is not within the Number of it? *Id. ibid.*

3. When *Parmenian* commends one Church, he condemns all the Rest; for besides one, which is the true *Catholick*, other Churches are esteemed to be among Hereticks, but are not. *S. Optat. lib. 1.*

4. The Church therefore is but one, this cannot be among all Hereticks and Schismatics. *Ibid.*

5. You say you offer for the Church, which is one; this very Thing is Part of a Lie to call it one, which you have divided into two. *Id. ibid.*

6. The Church is *one*, which cannot be amongst us and amongst you; it remains then, that it be in one only Place. *Id. ibid.*

7. Although there be many Heresies of Christians, and that all would be called *Catholicks*, yet there is always one Church, &c. *S. Aug. de util. credend. c. 7.*

8. The Question between us is, Where the Church is, whether with us or with them, for she is but *one*? *Id. de unitat. c. 2.*

9. The Proofs of the *Catholicks* prevailed, whereby they evicted the Body of Christ to be with them, and by Consequence not to be with the *Donatists*; for it is manifest that she is *one* alone. *Id. Collat. Carthag. lib. 3.*

10. In illud Cantic. vi. 7. *There are sixty Queens, and eighty Concubines, and Damosels without Number; but my Dove is one, &c.* He said not, *My Queens are sixty, and my Concubines, &c.* but he said, *My Dove is but one*; because all the *Seets* of *Philosophers*, and *Heresies* of *Christians* are none of his; his is but *one*, to wit, the *Catholick Church*, &c. *S. Epiphan. in fine Panar.*

11. A Man may not call the *Conventicles* of *Hereticks* (I mean *Marcionites*, *Manichees*, and the Rest) *Churches*; therefore the Tradition appoints you to say, *I believe one Holy Catholick Church*, &c. *S. Cyril. Catech. 18.*

And these Testimonies, I think, are sufficient to shew the Judgement of the *Ancient Church*, that this Title of the Church *one*, is directly and properly exclusive to all Companies besides one; to wit, that where there are diverse Professions of Faith, or diverse Communion, there is but one of these which can be the *Catholick Church*. Upon this Ground I desire some Company of *Christians* to be named, professing a diverse Faith, and holding a diverse Communion from the *Roman*, which was the *Catholick Church* at the Time of *Luther's* rising: And if no other in this Sense can be named, then was she the *Catholick Church* at that Time, and therefore her Judgement to be rested in, and her Communion to be embraced, upon Peril of Schism and Heresy.

Mr. Chillingworth's Answer.

Upon the same Ground, if you pleased, you might desire a Protestant to name some Company of *Christians*, professing a diverse Faith, and holding a diverse Communion from the *Greek Church*, which was the *Catholick Church* at the Time of *Luther's* rising; and seeing he could name no other in this Sense, conclude that the *Greek Church* was the *Catholick Church* at that Time. Upon the very same Grounds you might have concluded for the Church of the *Abyssines*, or *Armenians*, or any other Society of *Christians* extant before *Luther's* Time. And seeing this is so, thus I argue against your Ground.

That

That Ground which concludes indifferently for both Parts of a Contradiction, must needs be false and deceitful, and conclude for neither Part: But this Ground concludes indifferently for both Parts of a Contradiction; viz. That the *Greek Church* is the *Catholick Church*, and not the *Roman*; as well as, That the *Roman* is the *Catholick Church*, and not the *Greek*: Therefore the Ground is false and deceitful, seem it never so plausible.

2. I answer, Secondly, That you should have taken Notice of my Answer, which I then gave you; which was, that your *Major*, as you then framed your Argument, but as now your *Minor*, is not always true, if by one you understand one in external Communion; seeing nothing hindred in my Judgement, but that one Church excommunicated by another upon an insufficient Cause, might yet remain a true Member of the *Catholick Church*; and that Church, which upon the overvaluing this Cause doth excommunicate the other, though in Fault, may yet remain a Member of the *Catholick Church*; which is evident from the Difference about *Easter-day* between the Church of *Rome* and the Churches of *Asia*; for which vain Matter, *Victor Bishop of Rome* excommunicated the Churches of *Asia*. And yet I believe you will not say, that either the Church excommunicating, or the Church excommunicated, ceased to be a true Member of the Church *Catholick*. The Case is the same, between the *Greek* and the *Roman Church*; for though the Difference between them be greater, yet it is not so great as to be a sufficient Ground of Excommunication: And therefore the Excommunication was causeless, and consequently *Brutum fulmen*, and not ratified or confirmed by God in Heaven; and therefore the Church of *Greece* at *Luther's* rising, might be, and was a true Member of the *Catholick Church*.

As concerning the Places of Fathers, which you alledge; I demand, 1. If I can produce you an equal, or greater Number of Fathers, or more ancient than these, not contradicted by any that lived with them or before them, for some Doctrine condemned by the *Roman Church*, whether you will subscribe it? If not, with what Face or Conscience can you make use of, and build your whole Faith upon the Authority of Fathers in some Things, and reject the same Authority in others?

2. Because you urge *St. Cyprian's* Authority, I desire you to tell me, whether this Argument in his Time would have concluded a Necessity of resting in the Judgement of the *Roman Church*, or no? If not, how should it come to pass, that it should serve now, and not then, fit this Time and not that? As if it were like an *Almanack*, that would not serve for all Meridians? If it would, why was it not urged by others upon *S. Cyprian*, or represented by *S. Cyprian* to himself for his Direction, when he differed from the *Roman Church*, and all other that herein conformed unto her, touching the Point of Re-baptizing Hereticks; which the *Roman Church* held unlawful and damnable, *S. Cyprian* not only lawful, but necessary; so well did he rest in the Judgement of that Church: *Quid verba audiam, cum facta videam?* says he in the Comedy. And Cardinal *Perron* tells you in his Epistle to *Casaubon*, that nothing is more unreasonable, than to draw Consequences from the Words of Fathers, against their lively and actual Practice.

The same may be said in Refutation of the Places out of *S. Austin*; who was so far from concluding, from them or any other, a Necessity of resting in the Judgement of the *Roman Church*, that he himself, as your Authors testify, lived and died in opposition of it; even in that main Fundamental Point, upon which *Mr. Lewgar* hath built the Necessity of his Departure from the Church of *England*, and embracing the Communion of the *Roman Church*; that is, The Supreme Authority of that Church over other Churches, and the Power of receiving Appeals from them. *Mr. Lewgar*, I know, cannot be ignorant of these Things; and therefore I wonder, with what Conscience he can produce their Words against us, whose Actions are for us.

If it be said, that *S. Cyprian* and *S. Austin* were *Schismatics* for doing so; it seems then *Schismatics* may not only be Members of the Church, against *Mr. Lewgar's* main Conclusion, but canonized Saints of it; or else *St. Austin* and *S. Cyprian* should be razed out of the *Roman Kalendar*.

If it be said, that the Point of Re-baptization was not defined in *S. Cyprian's* Time; I say, that in the Judgement of the Bishop and Church of *Rome* and their Adherents, it was: For they urg'd it as an Original and Apostolick Tradition, and consequently at least of as great Force as any Church-definition. They excommunicated *Firmilianus*, and condemned *S. Cyprian* as a false Christ, and a false Apostle, for holding the contrary; and urged him *Tyrannico terrore* to conform his Judgement to theirs, as he himself clearly intimates.

If it be said, they differed only from the Particular Church of *Rome*, and not from the *Roman Church*, taking it for the Universal Society of Christians in Communion with that Church: I answer,

1. They know no such Sense of the Word, I am sure never used it in any such; which whether it had been possible, if the Church of *Rome* had been in their Judgement to other Churches in Spiritual Matters, as the City was to other Cities and Countries in Temporals, I leave it to indifferent Men to judge.

2. Secondly, that they differed not only from the particular *Roman Church*, but also from all other Churches that agreed with it in those Doctrines.

3. Thirdly,

3. Thirdly, I desire you would answer me directly, whether the *Roman Church*, taking it for that *particular Church*, be of necessity to be held infallible in Faith by every *Roman Catholick*, or not. To this *Question*, I instantly desire a direct *Answer* without Tergiversation, that we may, at length get out of the Cloud, and you may say, *Coram, quem queritis, adsum*. If you say, they are not bound to believe so; then it is no Article of Faith, nor no certain Truth upon which Men may safely rest without fluctuation or fear of Errour: And if so; I demand,

1. Why are all your Clergy bound to swear, and consequently your Laity, (if they have Communion of Faith with them) by your own Grounds, bound to believe, That the *Roman Church* is the Mistress of all other Churches? Where it is evident from the Relation and Opposition of the *Roman* to other Churches, that the *Roman Church* is there taken for that *Particular Church*.

2. Secondly, Why then do you so often urge that mistaken Saying of *Irenæus*, *Ad hanc Ecclesiam necesse est omnem convenire Ecclesiam*? falsely translating it, as Cardinal *Perron* in French, and my *L. F.* in English, ---- *All Churches must agree with this Church*; for *convenire ad* signifies not to agree with, but to come unto; whereas it is evident, for the aforesaid Reason, that the *Roman* is here taken for that *Particular Church*.

3. Thirdly, If that *Particular Church* be not certainly infallible, but subject to Errour in Points of Faith; I would know, if any Division of your Church should happen, in which the *Church of Rome*, either alone or with some others, should take one Way, the Churches of *Spain* and *France*, and many other Churches another, what Direction should an ignorant *Catholick* have then from the pretended Guide of Faith? How shall he know which of these Companies is the Church? seeing all other Churches distinguished from the *Roman* may err, and seeing the *Roman Church* is now supposed subject to Errour, and consequently not certain to guard those Men, or those Churches that adhere unto it, from erring.

4. Fourthly, If that *Particular Church* be not infallible in Faith, let us then suppose that *de Facto* it does err in Faith; shall we not then have an *Heretical Head* upon a *Catholick Body*? A Head of the Church, which were no Member of the Church? Which sure were a very strange and heterogeneous Monster! If to avoid these Inconveniencies you will say, that *Roman Catholicks* must of necessity hold that *Particular Church* infallible in Faith; I suppose it will evidently follow, that *S. Austin* and *S. Cyprian* (notwithstanding those Sentences you pretend out of them) were no *Roman Catholicks*; seeing they lived and died in the contrary Belief and Profession. Let me see these Absurdities fairly and clearly avoided, and I will dispute no more, but follow you whithersoever you shall lead.

Thirdly, I answer, that the Places alledged are utterly impertinent to the Conclusion you should have proved; which was, That it was impossible, that two Societies of Christians divided upon what Cause soever in external Communion, may be in Truth and in God's Account, both of them Parts of the *Catholick Church*: Whereas your Testimonies, if we grant them all, say no more but this; That the Societies of *Hereticks*, which are such as overthrow any Doctrine necessary to Salvation; and of *Schismatics*, which are such as separate from the Church's Communion, without any Pretence of Errour in the Church, or Unlawfulness in the Conditions of her Communion; I say, they prove only this, that such Societies as these, are no Parts of the Church: Which I willingly grant of all such, as are properly and formally *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, from which Number I think (with *S. Austin*) they are to be exempted, *Qui quarunt cauta solitudine veritatem, corrigi parati, cum invenerint*. Whereas I put the Case of such two Societies, which not differing indeed in any Thing necessary to Salvation, do yet erroneously believe, that the Errours wherewith they charge one another, are damnable; and so by this Opinion of mutual Errour, are kept on both Sides from being *Hereticks*.

Because I desire to bring you and others to the Truth, or to be brought to it by you, I thought good for your Direction in your intended Reply, to acquaint you with these Things:

1. That I conceive the ---- in your *Discourse*, is this: That whensoever any two Societies of Christians differ in external Communion, one of them must be of necessity *Heretical* or *Schismatical*. I conceive there is no such necessity; and that the Stories of *Victor* and the Bishops of *Asia*, *S. Cyprian*, and *Pope Stephen*, make it evident; and therefore I desire you to produce some convincing Argument to the contrary; and that you may the better do it, I thought good to inform you what I mean by an *Heretick*, and what by a *Schismatick*.

An *Heretick* therefore I conceive him, that holds an Errour against Faith with Obstinacy. Obstinate I conceive him, who will not change his Opinion, when his Reasons for it are so answered, that he cannot reply; and when the Reasons against it are so convincing, that he cannot answer them. By the Faith, I understand all those Doctrines, and no more, which Christ taught his Apostles, and the Apostles the Church, yet I exclude not from this Number the certain and evident Deductions of them.

A *Schismatick* I account him, (and *Facundus Hermianensis* hath taught me to do so) who without any supposing of Errour in the Conditions of a Church's Communion, divides himself

himself either from the Obedience of that Church, to which he owes Obedience; or from the Communion of that Church to which he owes Communion.

2. Another Thing, which I thought fit to acquaint you with, is this: That you go upon another very false and deceitful Supposition; viz. That if we will not be *Protestants*, presently we must be *Papists*; if we forsake the *Church of England*, we must go presently to the *Church of Rome*: Whereas if your Arguments did conclude, (as they do not) that before *Luther's* Time there was some Church of one Denomination, which was the *Catholick Church*, I should much rather think it were the *Church of Greece*, than the *Church of Rome*; and I believe others also would think so as well as I, but for that Reason which one gives, why more Men hold the *Pope* above a *Council*, than a *Council* above a *Pope*; that is, because *Councils* give no Maintenance or Preferment, and the *Popes* do.

Think not yet, I pray, that I say this, as if I conceived this to be your Reason for preferring the *Roman Church* before the *Greek*; (for I protest I do not;) but rather, that conceiving verily you were to leave the *Church of England*, to avoid Trouble, you took the next Boat, and went to the *Church of Rome*, because that bespake you first.

You impute to me, (as I hear) that the Way I take is destructive only, and that I build nothing: Which, first, is not a Fault, for Christian Religion is not now to be built; but only I desire to have the Rubbish and impertinent Lumber taken off, which you have laid upon it, which hides the glorious *Simplicity* of it from them which otherwise would embrace it. Remember, I pray, *Averroes's* Saying, *Quandoquidem Christiani adorant quod comedunt, sit anima mea cum Philosophis*; and consider the Swarms of *Atheists* in *Italy*, and then tell me, whether your unreasonable and contradictory *Doctrines*, your forged *Miracles*, and counterfeit *Legends*, have not, in all Probability, produced this Effect. Secondly, if it be a Fault, it is certainly your own; for your *Discourse*, intended for the *Proof* of a *positive Conclusion*, —That we must be *Papists*,—proves in *Deed* and in *Truth*, nothing; but even in *Shew* and *Appearance*, no more but this *Negative*, That we must not be *Protestants*. But what we must be, if we must not be *Protestants*, God knows: You in this *Discourse* (I am sure) do not shew it.

#### Mr. Lewgar's Reply.

§. 1. The *Minor* of Mr. Chillingworth's Argument against my Ground is very weak, being framed upon a false Supposition, that a *Protestant* could name no other Church professing, a diverse Faith, &c. from the *Greek Church*, which was the *Catholick Church*: For if he could not indeed name any other, the Title would remain to the *Greek Church*; but he hath the *Roman* to name, and so my Ground cannot conclude either for the *Greek*, or *Abyssine*, or any other besides the *Roman*, but for that it does, except he can name some other.

§. 2. His second Answer is weak likewise; for my *Minor* is always true; at least they thought it to be so, whose Authorities I produce in Confirmation of it, as will appear to any one that considers them well; how their *Force* lies in *Thest*, not in *Hypothesis*; not that the *Church* was not then divided into more *Societies* than one, but that she could never be.

§. 3. As for his *Instance* to the contrary, wherein he believes I will not say the *Churches* excommunicated by *Victor*, ceased to be true Members of the *Catholick*: If I say so, I say no more than the antient Fathers said before me. *Irenaeus*, when he desired *Victor*, *μὴ ἀποκόπῃ*, not to cut off so many and great *Churches*; and *Ruffinus*, *Reprehendit eum, quod non bene fecisset abscindere ab unitate corporis*, &c.

§. 4. But howsoever the Case of *Excommunication* may be, the Division of external Communion which I intended, and the Fathers spake of in the alledged Authorities, was that which was made by voluntary *Separation*.

§. 5. Whereby the *Church* (before one *Society*) is divided into several distinct *Societies*, both claiming to be the *Church*; of which *Societies*, so divided, but one can be the *Catholick*; and this is proved by the Authorities alledged; which Authorities must not be answered by disproving them, as he does, (for that is to change his *Adversary*, and confute the *Fathers* Sayings, instead of mine;) but by shewing their true Sense or Judgement to be otherwise than I alledged it.

§. 6. To his Demand upon the *Places* alledged, I answer, That I do not build my whole Faith of this *Conclusion* upon the Authority of those *Fathers*; for I produce them, not for the Authority of the Thing, but of the Exposition. The Thing it self is an *Article* of the *Creed*, *unam Catholicam*, grounded in express *Scripture*, *Columba mea unica*. But because there is Difference in understanding this *Prophecy*, I produce these Authorities, to shew the Judgement of the *antient Church*, how they understood it; and the proper Answer to this, is either to shew, that these Words were not there, or at least this Meaning, and so to shew their Meaning out of other *Places* more pregnant.

§. 7. And I promise, that whensoever an equal Consent of *Fathers* can be shewed for any thing, as I can shew for this, I will believe it as firmly as I do this.

§. 8. But this is not the *Answerer's* Part, to propound Doubts and Difficulties, but to satisfy the Proof objected.

§. 9. And if this Course be any more taken, I will save myself all further Labour, in a Business so likely to be endless.

§. 10. His second *Answer* to the *Places* is wholly impertinent; for therein would he disprove them from teaching a Necessity of resting in the Judgement of the *Roman Church*; whereas I produced them only to shew, That among *several Societies of Christians*, only one can be the *Catholick*; and against this his *second Answer* says nothing.

§. 11. In his third *Answer* he makes some Shew of *Reply* to the *Authorities* themselves; but he commits a double Errour: One, that he imposes upon me a wrong *Conclusion* to be proved; as will appear by comparing my *Conclusion* in my Paper, with the *Conclusion* he would appoint me.

§. 12. Another, that he imposes upon the *Authorities* a wrong *Interpretation*, no way grounded in the *Words* themselves, nor in the *Places* whence they were taken, nor in any other *Places* of the same *Fathers*, but merely forged out of his own *Brain*. For first, the *Places* do not only say, that the *Societies of Hereticks and Schismatics* are no Part of the *Church*; but that the *Church* cannot be divided into more *Societies* than one; and they account *Societies* divided, which are either of a diverse Faith, or a diverse Communion. Neither do they define *Hereticks* or *Schismatics* in that manner as he does.

§. 13. For an *Heretick*, in their Language, is he that opposeth pertinaciously the common Faith of the *Church*; and a *Schismatick*, he that separates from the *Catholick Communion*, never making any Mention at all of the Cause.

§. 14. And if his Definition of a *Schismatick* may stand, then certainly there was no *Schismatick* ever in the World, nor none are at this Day; for none did, none does separate, without some *Pretence* of Errour, or Unlawfulness in the Conditions of the *Church's Communion*.

§. 15. And so I expect both a fuller and directer *Answer* to my *Argument*, without *Excursions*, or *Diversions* into any other Matter, till the Judgement of *Antiquity* be cleared in this Point.

Mr. Chillingworth's Answer.

*Ad* §. 1. The *Minor* of my *Argument*, you say, is very weak, being grounded upon a false Supposition, that a *Protestant* could name no other *Church* professing a diverse Faith from the *Greek*, which was the *Catholick Church*; and your Reason is, because he might name the *Roman*. But in earnest, Mr. *Lewgar*, do you think that a *Protestant*, remaining a *Protestant*, can esteem the *Roman Church* to be the *Catholick Church*? Or do you think to put Tricks upon us, with taking your Proposition one while in *Sensu composito*, another while in *Sensu diviso*? For if your Meaning was, that a *Protestant* not remaining, but ceasing to be a *Protestant*, might name the *Roman* for the *Catholick*; so I say also to your Discourse, that a *Protestant* ceasing to be a *Protestant*, might name a *Greek* to be the *Catholick Church*; and if there were any Necessity to find out one *Church* of one Denomination, as the *Greek*, the *Roman*, the *Abyssine*, which one must be the *Catholick*? I see no Reason but he might pitch upon the *Greek Church*, as well as the *Roman*; I am sure your Discourse proves nothing to the contrary. In short, this I say, if a *Grecian* should go about to prove to a *Protestant*, that his *Church* is the *Catholick*, by saying (as you do for the *Roman*) some one was so before *Luther*, and you can name no other, therefore ours is so; whatsoever may be answered to him, may be answered to you. For as you say, a *Protestant*, ceasing to be a *Protestant*, may name to him the *Roman*; so I say, a *Protestant*, ceasing to be a *Protestant*, may name to you the *Grecian*. If you say, a *Protestant*, remaining a *Protestant*, can name no other but the *Roman* for the *Catholick*; I may (very ridiculously I confess, but yet as truly) say, he can name no other but the *Grecian*. If you say, he cannot name the *Greek Church* neither, remaining a *Protestant*; I say likewise, neither, remaining a *Protestant*, can he name the *Roman* for the *Catholick*. So the Argument is equal in all Respects on both Sides; and therefore either concludes for both Parts (which is impossible, for then Contradictions should be both true) or (else, which is certain) it concludes for neither. And therefore I say, your Ground you build on, That before *Luther* some *Church* of one Denomination was the *Catholick* (if it were true, as it is most false) would not prove your Intent. It would destroy, perhaps, our *Church*, but it would not build your's. It would prove, peradventure, that we must not be *Protestants*, but it will be far from proving that we must be *Papists*: For after we have left being *Protestants* (I tell you again, that you may not mistake) there is yet no Necessity of being *Papists*; no more than if I go out of *England*, there is a Necessity of going to *Rome*. And thus much to shew the Poorness of your Ground, if it were true. Now, in the second Place, I say it is false; neither have you proved any Thing to the contrary.

*Ad* §. 2. You say, the *Authorities* you have produced, shew to any that consider them well, That the *Church* could never be divided into more *Societies* than one; and you mean (I hope) one in external Communion, or else you dally in Ambiguities; and then I say, I have well considered the alledged *Authorities*, and they appear to me to say no such Thing; but only, that the *Societies of Hereticks and Schismatics* are no true Members of the *Church*:

Where-

Whereas I put the Case of two such *Societies*, which were divided in external Communion by Reason of some overvalued Difference between them; and yet were neither of them *Heretical*, or *Schismatical*. To this I know you could not answer, but only by saying, That this Supposition was impossible; viz. That of two *Societies* divided in External Communion, neither should be *Heretical* nor *Schismatical*; and therefore I desired you to prove by one convincing Argument, that this is impossible. This you have not done, nor I believe can do; and therefore all your *Places* fall short of your intended Conclusion; and if you would put them into Syllogistical Form, you should presently see you conclude from them sophistically in that Fallacy, which is called, *a dicto secundum quid, ad dictum simpliciter*. Thus,---- No two divided *Societies*, whereof one is *Heretical* or *Schismatical*, can be both Members of the *Catholic Church*; therefore simply no two divided *Societies* can be so: The Antecedent I grant, which is all that your *Places* say, as you shall see anon; but the Consequence is *sophistical*, and therefore that I deny: It is no better nor worse, than if you should argue thus; No two divided *Societies*, whereof one is outlawed and in Rebellion, are both Members of the same Commonwealth, therefore simply no two divided *Societies*.

But against this you pretend, That the alledged *Places* say not only, that the *Societies* of *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* are no Parts of the *Church*, but that the *Church* cannot be divided into more *Societies* than one: And they account *Societies* divided, which are either of a diverse Faith, or of a diverse Communion: This is that which I would have proved, but as yet I cannot see it done. There be eleven Quotations in all; Seven of them speak expressly and formally of Division made by *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*, viz. 1, 3, 4, 7, 9, 10, 11. Three other of them, (viz. 5, 6, 8.) though they use not the Word, yet Mr. Lewgar knows they speak of the *Donatists*, which were *Schismatics*; and that by the relative Particles *you* and *them* are meant the *Donatists*. And lastly, the Second, Mr. Lewgar knows, says nothing but this, That an *Heretick* cannot be accounted of that one Flock, which is the *Church*.

But to make the most of them that can be: The first faith, the *Unity* of the *Church* cannot be separated at all, nor divided. This I grant, but then I say; every Difference does not in the Sight of God divide this *Unity*: For then Diversity of Opinions should do it; and so the *Jesuits* and *Dominicans* would be no longer Members of the same *Church*. Or if every Difference will not do it, why must it of necessity be always done by Difference in Communion, upon an insufficient Ground, yet mistaken for sufficient? (for such only I speak of.) Sure I am, this *Place* says no such Matter, The next *Place* says, the Flock is but one; and all the rest, that the *Church* is but one; and that *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* are not of it; which certainly was not the Thing to be proved, but that of this one Flock, of this one *Church*, two *Societies* divided without just Cause in Communion, might not be true and lively Members; both in one Body Mystical in the Sight of God, though divided in *Unity* in the Sight of Men: It is true indeed, whosoever is shut out from the *Church* on Earth, is likewise cut off from it before God in Heaven: But you know it must be *Clave non errante*; when the Cause of Abscission is true and sufficient.

Ad §. 3. If you say so, you say no more than the *Fathers*: But what Evasions and Tergiversations are these? Why do you put us off with *ifs* and *ands*? I beseech you tell me, or at least him that desires to reap some Benefit by our Conference, directly and categorically,---- Do you say so, or do you say, it is not so? Were the Excommunicated Churches of *Asia* still Members of the *Catholic Church*, (I mean, in God's Account) or were they not? but all damned for that horrible *Heresy* of celebrating the Feast of *Easter* upon a diverse Day from the *Western Churches*? If you mean honestly and fairly, answer directly to this Question, and then you shall see what will come of it. Assure your self, you have a Wolf by the Ears: If you say they were, you overthrow your own Conclusions, and say, that Churches divided in Communion may both be Members of the *Catholic*. If they were not, then shall we have Saints and Martyrs in Heaven, which were no Members of the *Catholic Roman Church*.

As for *Irenaeus* his *μη προκόπτεν*, and *Ruffinus* his ---- *Abscindere ab unitate Corporis*; they imply no more but this at the most, That *Victor*, (*quantum in se fuit*) did cut them off from the External Communion of the *Catholic Church*; supposing, that for their Obstinacy in their Tradition, they had cut themselves off from the Internal Communion of it: But that this Sentence of *Victor's* was ratified in Heaven, and that they were indeed cut off from the Mystical Body of Christ; so far was *Irenaeus* from thinking, that he, and in a Manner all the other Bishops, reprehended *Victor* for pronouncing this Sentence on them, upon a Cause so insufficient: Which how they could say, or possibly think of a Sentence ratified by God in Heaven, and not reprehend God himself, I desire you to inform me: And if they did not intend to reprehend the Sentence of God himself, together with *Victor's*, then I believe it will follow unavoidably, that they did not conceive, nor believe, *Victor's* Sentence to be ratified by God; and consequently did not believe, that these Excommunicated Churches were not in God's Account true Members of the Body of Christ.

Ad §. 4. And here again, we have another Subterfuge, by a verbal Distinction between Excommunication and voluntary Separation: As if the Separation which the *Church* of *Rome* made in *Victor's* Time from the *Asian Churches* were not a voluntary Separation;

or as if the Churches of *Asia* did not voluntarily do that which was the Cause of their Separation; or as if (though they separated not themselves indeed, conceiving the Cause to be insufficient) they did not yet remain voluntarily separated, rather than conform themselves to the Church of *Rome*: Or lastly, as if the *Grecians* of old, or the Protestants of late, might not pretend, as justly as the *Asian* Churches, that their Separation too was not voluntarily, but of necessity; for that the Church of *Rome* required of them, under pain of Excommunication, such Conditions of her Communion, as were neither necessary nor lawful to be performed.

*Ad §. 5.* And here again the Matter is streightned by another Limitation. Both Sides (say you) must claim to be the Church; but what then, if one of them only claim (though vainly) to be the Church, and the other content it self with being a Part of it? These then it seems (for any Thing you have said to the contrary) may be both Members of the *Catholick Church*; and certainly this is the Case now, between the Church of *England* and the Church of *Rome*; and, for ought I know, was between the Church of *Rome* and the Church of *Greece*: For I believe it will hardly be proved, that the Excommunication between them was mutual; nor that the Church of *Greece* esteems it self the whole Church, and the Church of *Rome* no Church, but it self a sound Member of the Church, and that a corrupted one.

Again, whereas you say, the Fathers speak of a voluntary Separation; certainly they speak of any Separation by Hereticks; and such were (in *Victor's* Judgement) the Churches of *Asia*, for holding an Opinion contrary to the Faith, as he esteemed: Or if he did not, why did he cut them from off the Communion of the Church? But the true Difference is, The Fathers speak of those which by your Church are esteemed Hereticks, and are so; whereas the *Asian* Churches were by *Victor* esteemed Hereticks, but were not so.

*Ad §. 6.* But their Authorities produced shew no more than what I have shewed; that the Church is but one in exclusion of Hereticks and Schismatics; and not that two particular Churches divided by Mistake upon some over-valued Difference, may not be both Parts of the *Catholick*.

*Ad §. 7.* But I desire you to tell me, whether you will do this, if the Doctrines produced and confirmed by such a Consent of Fathers, happen to be in the Judgement of the Church of *Rome*, either not *Catholick*, or absolutely Heretical. If you will undertake this, you will hear farther from me: But if, when their Places are produced, you will pretend (as some of your Side do) that surely they are corrupted, having neither Reason nor Shew of Reason for it, unless this may pass for one (as perhaps it may where Reasons are scarce) that they are against your Doctrine; or if you will say, they are to be interpreted according to the Pleasure of your Church, whether their Words will bear it or no, then I shall but lose my Labour; for this is not to try your Church by the Fathers, but the Fathers by your Church.

The Doctrines which I undertake to justify, by a greater Consent of Fathers than here you produce, for Instance shall be these.

1. That God's Election supposeth Prescience of Man's Faith and Perseverance.
2. That God doth not predetermine Men to all their Actions.
3. That the *Pope* hath no Power in Temporalities over Kings, either directly or indirectly.
4. That the Bishop of *Rome* may err in his publick Determinations of Matters of Faith.
5. That the B. *Virgin* was guilty of original Sin.
6. That the B. *Virgin* was guilty of actual Sin.
7. That the Communion was to be administered to the Laity in both Kinds.
8. That the reading of the Scripture was to be denied to no Man.
9. That the Opinion of the Millenaries is true.
10. That the Eucharist is to be administered to Infants.
11. That the Substance of Bread and Wine remains in the Eucharist after Consecration.
12. That the Souls of the Saints departed enjoy not the Vision of God before the Last Day.
13. That at the Day of Judgement, all the Saints shall pass through a purging Fire.

All these Propositions are held by your Church either Heretical, or at least not *Catholick*; and yet in this Promise of yours you have undertaken to believe them as firmly as you now do this, That two divided Societies cannot be both Members of the *Catholick Church*.

*Ad §. 8.* Is it not then the Answerer's Part to shew, that the Proofs pretended are indeed no Proofs? And doth not he prove no Proofs (at least in your Mouth) who undertakes to shew, that an equal or greater Number of the very same Witnesses is rejected by your selves in many other Things? Either the Consent of the Fathers, in any Age or Ages, is infallible, and then you are to reject it in nothing; or it is not so, and then you are not to urge it in any Thing: As if the Fathers Testimonies against us were Swords and Spears, and against you Bulrushes.

*Ad §. 9.* In Effect as if you should say, If you answer not as I please, I will dispute no longer. But you remember the Proverb,----will think of it---*Occasionem querit, qui cupit discedere.*

*Ad §. 10.*

*Ad §. 10.* I pray tell me, Is not *Therefore* a Note of an Illation, or a Conclusion? And is not your last *therefore* this, *Therefore her Judgement is to be rested in?* Which though it be not your first Conclusion, yet yours it is, and you may not disclaim it; and it is so near of Kin to the former (in your Judgement I am sure) that they must stand or fall together; therefore he that speaks pertinently for the disproving of the one, cannot speak impertinently towards the disproving the other; and therefore you cannot so shift it off, but of necessity you must answer the Argument there urged, or confess it ingenuously to be unanswerable.

Or if you will not answer any Thing, where the Contradiction of your first Conclusion is not in Terms inferred, then take it thus: If *S. Cyprian* and *S. Austin* did not think it necessary in Matters of Faith to rest in the Judgement of the *Roman Church* and the Adherents of it; then either they thought not the *Catholick Church's* Judgement necessary to be rested on, or they thought not *that* the *Catholick Church*. But the Antecedent is true, and undeniably proved so by their Actions, and the Consequence evident; therefore the Consequent must be true in one or other Part: But you will not say the former is true; it remains therefore, the latter must be, and that is --- That *S. Austin* and *S. Cyprian* did not think the Church of *Rome* and the Adherents of it to be the *Catholick Church*.

*Ad §. 11.* But I tell you now, and have already told you, that in our Discourse before *Mr. Skinner* and *Dr. Sheldon*, I answered your *Major*, as then you framed your Argument, as now your *Minor* thus--- If you understand by *one Company* of Christians, *one* in external Communion, I deny your *Major*. For I say, that two several Societies of Christians, which do not externally communicate together, may be both Parts of the same *Catholick Church*; and what Difference there is between this, and the Conclusion I told you you should have proved, I do not well understand.

*Ad §. 12.* And is it possible you should say so, when every one of the Places carry this Sense in their Forehead, and seven of the eleven in Terms express it--- That they intended only to exclude *Hereticks* and *Schismatics* from being Parts of the Church: For if they did not, against whom did they intend them? *Pagans* lay no Claim to the Church, therefore not against them: *Catholicks* they did not intend to exclude: I know not who remains besides, but *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*. Besides the frequent Opposition in them between-- *One Church* on the one Side, and *Hereticks* and *Schismatics*; who sees not, that in these Places they intend to exclude only these Pretenders out of the Church's Unity?

Lastly, whereas you say, that the Places say--- That the Church cannot be divided, and that they account those divided who are of a diverse Faith, or a diverse Communion: I tell you, that I have read them over and over, and unless my Eyes deceive, they say not one Word of a *diverse Communion*.

*Ad §. 13.* Whereas a *Heretick*, in your Language, is he that opposeth pertinaciously the common Faith of the Church; --- in mine --- He is such a one, as holds an Errour against Faith with Obstinacy: Verily a monstrous Difference between these Definitions. To oppose and hold against (I hope) are all one: *Faith* and the *common Faith of the Church*, sure are not very different; *pertinaciously* and *with Obstinacy* methinks might pass for synonymous; and seeing the Parts agree so well, methinks the Total should not be at great Hostility. And for the Definition of a *Schismatick*, if you like not mine (which yet I give you out of a Father) I pray take your own; and then shew me (if you mean to do any Thing) that wheresoever there are two Societies of Christians, differing in external Communion, one of them must be of necessity either *Heretical* or *Schismatical* in your own Sense of these Words. To the contrary, I have said already, (and say it now again, that you may not forget it) the *Roman* and the *Asian Churches* in *Victor's* Time, the *Roman* and the *African* in *S. Stephen's* Time, differed in external Communion, and yet neither of them was *Heretical*; for they did not oppose pertinaciously the common Faith of the Church: Neither of them was *Schismatical*, for they did not separate (never making mention of the Cause at all) but were separated by the *Roman Church*, and that upon some Cause, though it were not sufficient.

*Ad §. 14.* The *Donatists* did so (as *Facundus Hermianensis* testifies:) but you are abused, I believe, with not distinguishing between these two--- They did pretend, that the Church required of them some unlawful Thing among the Conditions of her Communion: and they did pretend, that it was unlawful for them to communicate with the Church. This I confess they did pretend; but it was in regard of some Persons in the Church, with whom they thought it unlawful to communicate, but the former they did not pretend, (I mean while they continued meer *Schismatics*,) *viz.* That there was any Errour in the Church, or Impiety in her Publick Service of God: And this was my Meaning in saying,--- A *Schismatick* is he, which separates from the Church without Pretence of Errour, or Unlawfulness in the Conditions of her Communion: Yet if I had left out the Term *Unlawfulness*, the Definition had been better, and not obnoxious to this Cavillation; and so I did in the second Paper which I sent you for your Direction; which, if you had dealt candidly, you should have taken Notice of.

*Ad §. 15.* I have replied (as I think) fully to every Part and Particle of your Argument; neither was the History of *S. Cyprian's* and *S. Austin's* opposition to the Church of *Rome*, an Excursion or Diversion; but a clear Demonstration of the Contradictory

of your Conclusion: (viz. *That the Roman Church, &c. and therefore her Judgement not to be rested upon.*) For an Answer hereto, I shall be very importunate with you; and therefore, if you desire to avoid Trouble, I pray come out of my Debt as soon as may be.

If it be said, that my Argument is not contradictory to your Conclusion, because it shews only, that the *Roman Church* with her Adherents was not in *St. Cyprian's* or *St. Austin's* Time the *Catholick Church*, but was at the Time before *Luther*; I say, to conclude the one is to conclude the other. For certainly, if it were then at *Luther's* Time so, it was always so; if it was not always, it was not then; for if it be of the Essence, or necessary to the Church (as is pretended) to be a Society of Christians joined in Communion with the Church and Bishop of *Rome*; then did it always agree to the Church; and therefore in *St. Cyprian's* and *St. Austin's* Time, as well as at *Luther's* Rising; if it were not always, particularly not in *St. Cyprian's* Time, of the Essence or necessary to the Church to be so; then it was impossible the Church should acquire this Essence, or this Property afterwards, and therefore impossible it should have it at the Time of *Luther's* Rising. *Necessarium est, quod non aliquando inest, aliquando non inest, alicui inest, alicui non inest; sed quod semper & omni.* Arist. Post. Analyt.

Again, every Sophister knows, that of Particulars nothing can be concluded; and therefore he that will shew, that the Church of *Rome* and the Adherents of it was the *Catholick Church* at *Luther's* Rising, he must argue thus; --- It was always so, therefore then it was so. Now this Antecedent is overthrown by any Instance to the contrary; and so the first Antecedent being proved false, the first Consequent cannot but be false; for what Reason can be imagined, that the Church of *Rome* and the Adherents of it was not the whole *Catholick Church* at *St. Cyprian's* Time, and was at *Luther's* Rising? If you grant (as I think you cannot deny) that a Church divided from the Communion of the *Roman*, may be still in Truth, and in God's Account a Part of the *Catholick*, (which is the Thing we speak of) then I hope Mr. *Lewgar's* Argument from Unity of Communion is fallen to the Ground; and it will be no good Plea to say,

Some one Church, not consisting of divers Communions, was the *Catholick Church* at *Luther's* Rising:

No one Church can be named to be the *Catholick Church* but the *Roman*:

Therefore the *Roman Church* was the *Catholick* at *Luther's* Rising.

For Mr. *Lewgar* hath not, nor can prove the major of this Syllogism certainly true; but to the contrary I have proved, that it cannot be certainly true, by shewing divers Instances wherein divers divided Communions have made up the *Catholick Church*; and therefore not the dividing of the Communions, but the Cause and Ground of it, is to be regarded, whether it be just and sufficient, or unjust and insufficient.

Neither is the Bishop or Church of *Rome*, with the Adherents of it, an infallible Judge thereof; for it is evident, both he and it have erred herein divers Times; which I have evinced already by divers Examples, which I will not repeat; but add to them one confessed by Mr. *Lewgar* himself, in his Discourse upon the Article of the *Catholick Church*, pag. 84. *S. Athanasius being excommunicated (though by the whole Church) yet might remain a Member of Christ's Body, (not visible, for that it is impossible, that a Person cut off from visible Communion, though unjustly, should be a visible Member of the Church, but) by invisible Communion, by reason of the Invalidity of the Sentence; which being unjust, is valid enough to visible Excision, but not farther.*

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## II. *A Discourse against the Infallibility of the Roman Church, with an Answer to all those Texts of Scripture that are alledged to prove it.*



HE Condition of Communion with the Church of *Rome*, without the Performance whereof no Man can be received into it, is this: That he believes firmly, and without doubting whatsoever that Church requires him to believe.

It is impossible that any Man should certainly believe any Thing, unless that Thing be either evident of it self (as that twice two are four, that every Whole is greater than a Part of it self) or unless we have some certain Reason (at least some supposed certain Reason) and infallible Guide for his Belief thereof.

The Doctrines which the Church of *Rome* requireth to be believed are not evident of themselves; for then every one would grant them at first Hearing, without any farther Proof. He therefore that will believe them, must have some certain and infallible Ground whereon to build his Belief of them.

<sup>b</sup> How by the whole Church, when himself was Part of it, and communicated still with divers other Parts of it? <sup>c</sup> What, not to them who know and believe him to be unjustly excommunicated?

There is no other Ground for a Man's Belief of them, especially in many Points, but only an Assurance of the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*.

Now this Point of that Church's Infallibility, is not evident of itself; for then no Man could chuse but in his Heart believe it without farther Proof. Secondly, it were in vain to bring any Proof of it, as vain as to light a Candle to shew Men the Sun. Thirdly, it were impossible to bring any Proof of it, seeing nothing can be more evident, than that which of it self is evident; and nothing can be brought in Proof of any Thing, which is not more evident than that Matter to be proved. But now Experience teacheth, that Millions there are who have heard Talk of the Infallibility of the *Roman Church*, and yet do not believe that the Defenders of it do not think it either vain or impossible to go about to prove it; and from hence it follows plainly, that this Point is not evident of it self.

Neither is there any other certain Ground for any Man's Belief of it; or if there be, I desire it may be produced, as who am ready and most willing to submit my Judgment to it, fully persuaded that none can be produced, that will endure a severe and impartial Examination.

If it be said, The *Roman Church* is to be believed infallible because the Scripture says it is so:

1. I demand how shall I be assured of the Texts that be alledged, that they are indeed Scripture, that is, the Word of God? And the Answer to this must be, either because the Church tells me so, or some other; if any other be given, then all is not finally resolved into, and built upon that Church's Authority; and this Answer then, I hope, a Protestant may have Leave to make use of, when he is put to that perilous Question; *How know you the Scripture to be the Scripture?* If the Answer be, because the Church tells me so: My Reply is ready; that to believe that Church is infallible, because the Scriptures say so; and that the Scripture is the Word of God, because the same Church says so, is nothing else but to believe the Church is infallible, because the Church says so, which is infallible.

2. I could never yet, from the Beginning of *Genesis* to the End of the *Apocalypse*, find it written so much as once in express Terms, or equivalently, that the Church in subordination to the See of *Rome* shall be always infallible.

3. If it be said, that this is drawn by good Consequence, from Scripture truly interpreted; I demand, what certain Ground have I to warrant me that this Consequence is good, and this Interpretation true? And if Answer be made, that Reason will tell me so: I reply, 1. That this is to build all upon my own Reason and private Interpretation: 2. I have great Reason to fear, that Reason assures no Man, that the Infallibility of the *Church of Rome* may be deduced from Scripture by good and firm Consequence.

4. If it be said, that a Consent of Fathers do so interpret the Scripture; I answer, 1. That this is most false, and cannot, without Impudence, be pretended; as I am ready to justify to any indifferent Hearer. 2. I demand, Who shall be Judge, whether the Fathers mean as is pretended? If it be said, Reason will tell me so: I say, 1. This is false. 2. This is again to do that which is objected to *Protestants* for such a horrid Crime, that is, to build all finally upon Reason.

If it be said, they are so interpreted by the *Catholick Church*; I demand, Whether by the *Catholick Church* be meant that only that is in Subordination to the Bishop of *Rome*, or any other with that, or besides that? If any other, it is false and impudent to pretend that they so understand the Fathers or Scripture: If that only, then this is to say, that that Church is infallible, because it may be deduced from Scripture that it is so; and to prove that it may be deduced from Scripture, because the Fathers say so; and to prove the Fathers do say and mean so, because the Church of *Rome* says they do so. And then what a Stir and Trouble was here to no Purpose? Why was it not rather said plainly at the Beginning, The Church of *Rome* is certainly infallible, because she herself says so; and she must say true because she is infallible; and that is as much as to say, Unless you grant me the Question, I neither can nor will dispute with you.

If it is said, Indeed the Fathers do not draw this Doctrine from Scripture; but yet they affirm it with a full Consent, as a Matter of Tradition: I reply, 1. That this Pretence also is false, and that upon Trial it will not appear to have any Colour of Probability to any who remembers, that it is the present *Roman Church*, and not the *Catholick Church*, whose Infallibility is here disputed. 2. I demand, Who shall be Judge, whether the Fathers do indeed affirm this or no? If Reason, then again we are fallen upon that dangerous Rock, that all must be resolved into private Reason: If the Church, I ask again, what Church is meant? If the Church of the *Grecians* or *Abyssines*, or *Protestants*, or any other but the *Roman*, it is evident they deny it: If the *Church of Rome*, then we are again very near the Head of the Circle; for I ask, How shall I be assured this Church will not err and deceive me in interpreting the Fathers? And the Answer must be either none, or this, That the Church is infallible.

*Obj.* If it be said, That the Infallibility of the *Roman Church* would yield the Church so many Commodities, and that the Want of an infallible Church to guide Men in the Way to Heaven would bring so many Mischiefs upon the World, that it cannot be thought but

but that God out of his Love to Men hath appointed this Church as an infallible Guide to all other Churches, seeing it is so necessary there should be some such Guide, and so evident there is no other.

*Answ.* I answer, That this Argument would serve the Church of *Greece*, or *England*, or *Geneva*, to prove it self infallible, and the Guide of all other Churches, would they but take upon them to be so: For every one might say for itself, It is necessary there should be some Guide; it is evident there is no other; *ergo* I am appointed by God to be that Guide. The same Argument any Man might use, to make himself Monarch of any popular State: for first, he might represent unto them the Commodities of a Monarchy, and the Mischiefs of a Democracy; then he might say, That God surely out of his Love to them hath appointed some Remedy for their Inconveniences; and lastly, that he hath ordained no other to redress them but himself; and then conclude, that he alone must of Necessity be the Man appointed to rule over them.

I answer, Secondly, That here also we must resolve all into Reason and the private Spirit; or that we are still in the Circle. For I demand, How do you know that these pretended Commodities are to be compassed, and these pretended Mischiefs are to be avoided, only by the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*, or some other Church, and not by any other Means which God hath provided? If you say, Reason tells you so; I say, 1. This is to make Reason your last and lowest Foundation. 2. I assure you, Reason tells me no such Matter; and yet I know that I am as willing to hear it as you are. If you say, the Church tells you, and she is infallible; this, I say, is to prove the Church infallible because she is so.

Thirdly, I demand how it is possible you should know that these pretended Commodities might not be gained, and these Mischiefs which you fear avoided, without any Assistance of the Church of *Rome's* Infallibility, if all Men in the World did believe the Scripture, and live according to it, and would require no more of others but to do so? If you say, that notwithstanding this, there would be no Unity in Doctrine; I answer, 1. It is impossible you should know this, considering that there are many Places in Scripture which do more than probably import, that the Want of Piety in living is the Cause of Want of Unity in believing. 2. That there would be Unity of Opinion in all Things necessary; and that in Things not necessary, Unity of Opinion is not necessary. But lastly, that notwithstanding Differences in these Things of lesser Importance, there might and would be Unity of Communion, Unity of Charity and Affection, which is one of the greatest Blessings which the World is capable of; absolute Unity of Opinion being a Matter rather to be desired than hoped for.

*Obj.* Against this it has been objected, That the Scripture cannot be the Guide, because many Men have used their best Endeavours to follow it, and yet have fallen, some into *Arianism*, others into *Pelagianism*, others into other damnable Heresies: and how can I secure any Man but he may do the like?

*Answ.* To this I answer, by distinguishing the Persons which are pretended to have made use of this Guide, and yet to have fallen into Heresy, that they were either such as did love the Truth sincerely, and above all Things, and did seek it diligently, and with all their Power, to this Intent, that they might conform their Belief and Life unto it; such as, following *St. Paul's* Direction, did first try all Things deliberately, and then chose what in their Conscience they thought was best: Or they were such as, for Want of the Love of the Truth, God suffered to fall into strong Delusions, to fall to a false Religion, because they brought not forth the Fruits of the true; to make Ship-wreck of their Faith, because they had cast away a good Conscience; to have their Eyes blinded, and their Light taken away, because they made not the right Use of it, but were idle and unprofitable, and set their Hearts upon Vanity, and had only a Form of Religion, but denied the Effect of it in their Lives and Conversations: In a Word, such as were betrayed to their Errour, and kept for ever in it, either by Negligence in seeking the Truth, or Unwillingness to find it, or by some other voluntary Sin; and for these I dare not flatter them with Hope of Pardon. But let me tell you, it is not the Errour of the Understanding, but the Sin of their Will that truly and properly damns them. But for the former, I am confident that nothing is more contumelious to the Goodness of God, than to think that he will damn any such; for he should damn Men that truly love him, and desire to serve him, for doing that which, all Things considered, was impossible for them not to do.

*Obj.* If it is said, That Pride of their own Understanding made them not submit to the Church of *Rome*, and to her Guidance; and that for this, being a voluntary Sin, they may be justly damned.

*Answ.* I answer, that whether the Church of *Rome* be the Guide of all Men is the Question, and therefore not to be begged but proved: That the Man we speak of is very willing to follow this Guide, could he find any good Ground to believe it is his Guide; and therefore the Reason he follows her not, is not Pride, but Ignorance: That as it is Humility to obey those whom God hath set over us, so it is Credulity to follow every one that will take upon him to lead us: That if the *Blind lead the Blind*, not only the *Leader* but the *Follower* shall perish: Lastly, that the present Church of *Rome* pretends

very

very little, and indeed nothing of Moment, to get the Office of being Head and Guide of the Church, which Antichrist when he cometh, may not and will not make use of, for the very same End and Purpose; and therefore he had Reason not to be too sudden and precipitate in committing himself to the Conduct of the Pope, for Fear of mistaking Antichrist for the Vicar of Christ.

*Obj.* But in all Commonwealths, it is necessary there should be not only a Law for Men to live by, but also a living and speaking Judge to decide their Differences arising about the various Interpretations of the Law, and otherwise Controversies would be endless: Therefore if such a Judge be so necessary in civil Affairs, for the procuring and preserving our temporal Peace and Happiness; how much more necessary is he, for the deciding of those Controversies, that concern the Saving and Damning of our Souls for ever.

*Ans.* Hereunto I answer, 1. That if it were as evident and certain that God hath appointed the Pope, or Church of Rome, to be the Guide of Faith, and Judge of Controversies, as that the King had appointed such a one to be Lord Chief Justice, the having such a Guide would be very available, for to preserve the Church in Unity, and to conduct Mens Souls to Heaven. But a Judge that has no better Title or Evidence to his Place, than the Pope has to that which he pretends to, a Judge that is doubtful, and justly questionable whether he be the Judge or no, is in all Probability likely to produce clean contrary Effects, and to be himself one of the Apples of Strife, one of the greatest Subjects of Controversy, and Occasion of Dissentions.

And to avoid this great Inconvenience, if God had intended the Pope or Church of Rome for this great Office, certainly he would have said so, very plainly and very frequently; if not frequently, certainly sometimes, once at least he would have said so in express Terms: But he does not say so, no not so much as once, nor any thing from whence it may be collected with any sure or firm Consequence; therefore if it be not certain, certainly it is very probable he never meant so.

Again, in civil Controversies the Case can hardly be so put, that there should be any Necessity that the same Man should be Judge and Party: But in Matters of Religion, wherein all have equal Interest, every Man is Party, and engaged to judge, for temporal Respects, this Way or that Way, and therefore not fit to be a Judge. But what then, if he, who was with so much Clamour and so little Reason vouched for the *Infallibility of the Church of Rome*, do tell you plainly, there is no living Judge on Earth, appointed by God, to decide the Controversies arising amongst Christians, nor no Way to determine them but by Scripture. His Words are express and formal, and need no other Commentary but a true Interpretation.

Optat. Melevit. *Lib. 5. ad Princip.*

*Vos dicitis, licet; nos, non licet: Inter vestrum licet, & nostrum non licet, mutant & remigant animæ populorum, Nemo vobis credat, nemo nobis; omnes contentiosi homines sumus. Quærendi sunt iudices: si Christiani, de utraque parte dari non possunt: de foris quærendus est iudex. Si Paganus, non potest nosse Christiana secreta: Si Judæus, inimicus est Christiani Baptismatis. Ergo in terris de hac re nullum poterit reperiri iudicium: de cælo quærendus est iudex. Sed & quid pulsamus cælum, cum habeamus hic in evangelio testamentum? Quia hoc loco recte possunt terrena cælestibus comparari; tale est, quod quivis hominum habens numerosos filios: His, quamdiu præsens est, ipse imperat singulis, non est adhuc necessarium testamentum. Sic & Christus, quamdiu præsens in terris fuit (quamvis nec modo desit) pro tempore quicquid necessarium erat, Apostolis imperavit. Sed quomodo terrenus pater cum se in confinio senserit mortis, timens ne post mortem suam rupta pace litigent fratres, adhibitis testibus voluntatem suam de pectore morituro transfert in tabulas diu duraturas; & si fuerit inter fratres contentio nata, non itur ad tumultum, sed quæritur testamentum, & qui in tumultu quiescit, tacitis de tabulis loquitur vivus. Is, cujus est testamentum, in cælo est: Ergo voluntas ejus velut in testamento, sic in evangelio inquiratur.*

That is, "You say such a Thing is *lawful*; we say it is *unlawful*: The Minds of the People are doubtful and wavering between your *lawful* and our *unlawful*. Let no Man believe either *you* or *us*, we are all contentious Men. We must seek therefore for Judges between us. If Christians are to be our Judges, both Sides will not afford such. We must seek for a Judge abroad. If he be a *Pagan*, he cannot know the Secrets of Christianity: If he be a *Jew*, he is an Enemy to Christian Baptism. Therefore there is no Judgement of this Matter can be found on Earth. We must seek for a Judge from Heaven. But to what End do we sollicite Heaven, when we have here in the Gospel a Will and Testament? And because here we may fitly compare earthly Things with heavenly; the Case is just as if a Man had many Sons; while he is present with them, he commands every one what he will have done; and there is no need as yet of making his last Will. So also Christ, as long as he was present on Earth (though neither now is he wanting) for a Time commanded his Apostles whatsoever was necessary. But just as an earthly Father, when he feels his Death approaching, fearing lest after his Death the Brothers should fall out and quarrel, he

" calls in Witnesses, and translates his Will from his dying Heart into written Tables, that will continue long after him: Now if any Controversy arises among the Brothers, they do not go to his Tomb, but consult his last Will; and thus he, whilst he rests in his Grave, does speak to them in those silent Tables as if he were alive. He whose Testament we have, is in Heaven; therefore we are to enquire his Pleasure in the Gospel as in his last Will and Testament."

It is plain from hence, that he knew not of any living, speaking audible Judge, furnished with Authority and Infallibility to decide this Controversy: Had he known any such assisted with the Spirit of God for this Purpose, it had been horrible Impiety against God and the Church's Peace, to say there was none such; or the Spirit of God was not able by his Assistance to keep this Judge from being hindered, with Partiality, from seeing the Truth. Had he thought the Bishop of Rome speaking *ex Cathedra* to be this Judge, now had been the Time to have said so; but he says directly the contrary, and therefore it is plain he knew of no such Authority he had.

Neither is there the like Reason for a Judge, finally and with Authority, to determine Controversies in Religion and Civil Differences: For if the Controversy be about *mine* and *thine*, about Land, or Money, or any other Thing, it is impossible that both I should hold the Possession of it and my Adversary too; and one of us must do Injury to the other, which is not fit it should be eternal: But in Matters of Doctrine the Case is clean contrary; I may hold my Opinion, and do my Adversary no Wrong; and my Adversary may hold his, and do me none.

#### *Texts of Scripture alledged for Infallibility.*

The Texts alledged for it by Cardinal Perron and Mr. Stratford, are partly Prophecies of the *Old Testament*, partly Promises of the *New*.

1. Esa. i. 26. *Thou shalt be called the City of Justice, the faithful City.*
2. Esa. lli. 1. *Through thee shall no more pass any that is uncircumcised, or unclean.*
3. Esa. lix. 21. *As for me, this is my Covenant with them, saith the Lord, my Spirit that is upon thee, and my Words which I have put in thy Mouth, shall not depart out of thy Mouth, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed, nor out of the Mouth of thy Seed's Seed, saith the Lord, from henceforth and for ever.*
4. Esa. lxii. 6. *Upon thy Walls, Hierusalem, I have appointed Watchmen all the Day and all the Night for ever, they shall not hold their Peace.*
5. Jerem. xxxi. 33. *This shall be the Covenant which I will make with the House of Israel, saith the Lord, I will give my Law in their Bowels, and in their Heart I will write it, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People.*
6. Ezek. xxxvi. 27. *I will put my Spirit within you, and cause you to walk in my Statutes, and ye shall keep my Judgements and do them.*
7. Ezek. xxxvii. 26. *I will give my Sanctification in the midst of them for ever.*
8. Ose. ii. 19, 20. *I will espouse thee to me for ever; and I will espouse thee to me in Justice and Judgement, and in Mercy and Commiserations; I will espouse thee to me in Faith, and thou shalt know that I am the Lord.*
9. Cant. iv. 7. *Thou art all fair, my Love, and there is no Spot in thee.*

Now before we proceed farther, let us reflect upon these Places, and make the most of them for the Behoof of the Roman Church; and I believe it will then appear to any one not veiled with Prejudice, that not one of them reaches Home to the Conclusion intended, which is, That the Roman Church is infallible.

The first Place perhaps would do something, but that there are three main Exceptions against it. 1. That here is no Evidence, not so much as that of Probability, that this is here spoken of the *Church of Rome*. 2. That it is certain that it is not spoken of the *Church of Rome*; but of the Nation of the *Jews*, after their Conversion, as is apparent from that which follows: *Zion shall be redeemed with Judgement, and her Converts with Righteousness.* 3. That it was no Way certain, that whatsoever Society may be called, *The City of Righteousness, the faithful City*, must be infallible in all her Doctrine; with a great deal more Probability, it might challenge from hence the Privilege of being *Impeccable*; which yet *Roman Catholics*, I believe, do not pretend to.

The second Place is liable to the same Exceptions; the *Church of Rome* is not spoken of in it, but *Zion* and *Hierusalem*; and it will serve as well, nay better, to prove *Impeccability* than *Infallibility*.

The third Place is the *Achilles* for this Opinion, wherein every Writer triumphs; but I wonder they should do so, considering the Covenant here spoken of is made, not with the *Church of Rome*, but with *Zion*, and them that turn from Transgression in *Jacob*: The Words are, *And the Redeemer shall come out of Zion, and unto them that turn from Transgression in Jacob, saith the Lord. As for me, this is my Covenant with them, saith the Lord, My Spirit that is in thee, and my Words, &c.* Now if the *Church of Rome* be *Zion*, and they that turn from Iniquity in *Jacob*, they may have Title to this Covenant; if not, they must forbear, and leave it to the *Jews* after their Conversion; to whom it is appropriated by a more infallible Interpreter than the Pope; I mean *St. Paul*, *Rom. xi. 26.* And it seems, the

the Church of Rome also believes as much ; for otherwise, why does she, in the Margin of her Bible send us to that Place, of St. Paul for an Exposition.

Read the fourth Place, and you shall find nothing can be made of it but this ; that the Watchmen of Hierusalem shall never cease importuning God for the sending of the Messias. To this Purpose speaks the Prophet in Ver. 1. *For Zion's Sake I will not hold my Peace, and for Hierusalem's Sake I will not rest, until the Righteousness thereof go forth as Brightness : And the Gentiles shall see thy Righteousness.* But the Words following these that are objected, make it most evident, which are, *ye that make mention of the Lord keep not silence, and give him no Rest, till he establish, and till he make Hierusalem a Praise in the Earth.*

The fifth Place had they set down entirely, for very Shame they could not have urged it for the Infallibility of the Roman Church. The Words are, *Behold the Days come, saith the Lord, that I will make a new Covenant with the House of Israel, and with the House of Judah ; not according to the Covenant which I made with their Fathers—But this shall be the Covenant that I will make with the House of Israel—After those Days, saith the Lord, I will put my Law in their inward Parts, and write it in their Hearts, and I will be their God, and they shall be my People ; and they shall teach no more every Man his Neighbour, and every Man his Brother, saying, Know the Lord ; for they shall all know me from the least of them to the greatest of them, saith the Lord.* And now I have transcribed the Place, I think it superfluous to make any other Answer.

The same Answer, and no other, will I make also to the sixth Place. The Words are, *Therefore say unto the House of Israel, Thus saith the Lord God, I do not this for your Sakes, O House of Israel, but for my holy Name's Sake, ver. 22. I will take you from among the Heathen, and gather you out of all Countries, and will bring you into your own Land, v. 24. Then will I sprinkle clean Water upon you, ver. 25. A new Heart also will I give you, ver. 26. And I will put my Spirit in you, and cause you to walk in my Statutes, and ye shall keep my Judgements and do them, ver. 27. And ye shall dwell in the Land that I gave to your Fathers : I will also save you from all your Uncleanesses, and I will call for the Corn, and will encrease it, and lay no Famine upon you. And the desolate Land shall be tilled, ver. 34. And they shall say, this Land that was desolate, is become like the Garden of Eden.*

The seventh Place also carries its Answer in its Forehead : *Thus saith the Lord God, Behold I will take the Children of Israel from among the Heathen, whither they be gone ; and I will make them one Nation in the Land upon the Mountains of Israel, and one King shall be King to them all, &c. to the End of the Chapter.* In all which Place he that can find a Syllable of the Church of Rome, he must have better Eyes than I have.

The next (eighth) Place would be very pregnant for the Church of Rome, if of Courtesy we would grant, that whatsoever is promised to Israel is intended to them ; as you may see in the Place at large, from Ver. 17. to the End of the Chapter.

The ninth and last Place, out of the Canticles, had it been urged by a Protestant ; it would have been thought a sufficient Answer to have said, That mystical Texts are not fit to argue upon. But if this will not serve, then we answer, 1. That there is no Mention nor Intimation of the Church of Rome. 2. That it proves either too much, or nothing at all : That is, that the Roman Church is impeccable, as well as infallible ; unless we will say, That Errours only, are Spots, and Impieties are not.

*Out of the New Testament they alledge these Texts.*

Matt. xvi. 18. *Upon this Rock will I build my Church, and the Gates of Hell shall not prevail against it.*

But this is said of the Catholick, not of the Roman Church ; nor can it ever be proved, that the Church in Communion with the See of Rome, is the Catholick Church. Secondly, it says something for the Perpetuity of the Church, but not for the Infallibility of it ; unless you will take for granted what can never be proved, That a Church that teaches any erroneous Doctrine is a Church no longer ; which is all one as if you should say, a Man that has the Stone, or Gout, or any other Disease, is not a Man.

*They urge Matth. xxviii. 19, 20.*

*And I am with you all Days, even unto the Consummation of the World.*

And here also if we will grant, 1. That by you, is meant you and only you of the Church of Rome. 2. That our Saviour has here obliged himself to assist, not only sufficiently, but also irresistibly ; not only to preserve in the Church a Light of sufficient Direction, as he provided a Star for the Wise Men, and a Pillar of Fire, and a Cloud for the Conduct of the Israelites ; but also compel, or at least necessitate them to follow it. 3. That he will be with them, not only to keep them from all damnable and destructive Errours, but absolutely from all erroneous Doctrines. If these Things I say were granted, some Good might be done : But certainly these are μεγάλα λίαν αὐτῆμα, too great Favours to be looked for by Strangers. And yet if all this be granted, we should run into this Inconvenience on the other Side ; that if the Promise be absolute, not only the whole Church of Rome ; not only a general Council ; not the Pope alone ; but every Bishop, every Priest, every

every one who is sent by Christ to baptize and preach the Gospel, might claim this Assistance by Virtue of Christ's Words, and consequently *Infallibility*.

*They urge Matth. xviii. 17.*

*If he will not hear the Church, let him be to thee as the Heathen and the Publican.*

And here again the Church must be the *Church of Rome*, or we are as far to seek as ever. But what if by it be meant, which is most evident out of the Place, every particular Church of Christians, whereunto any one Christian injured by another, may address himself for Remedy. Certainly whosoever reads the Place without Prejudice, I am confident that he shall not deny, but that the Sense of the Words is, That if any Christian injure another, and being first admonished of it by him in private; then by him before two or three Witnesses; Lastly, by the Church he lives in; and yet still proceeds on obstinately in doing Injury to his Brother, he is to be esteemed as a *Heathen* or a *Publican*; and then if *Infallibility* may be concluded, what a Multitude of *Infallible Churches* shall we have?

*They urge Matth. xviii. 20.*

*Where two or three are gathered together in my Name, there am I in the Midst of them.*

But this also either shoots short, or over; either proves nothing, or too much: Either it proves not the *Infallibility* of the whole Church, or it proves the *Infallibility* of every Part of it: Either not the *Infallibility* of General Councils, or the *Infallibility* of particular Councils; for there two or three at least are assembled in Christ's Name. But then besides, these two or three, for ought I can see or gather from the Text, may as well be of any other Church as the *Roman*.

*They urge Luke x. 16.*

*He that heareth you, heareth me; and he that despiseth you, despiseth me.*

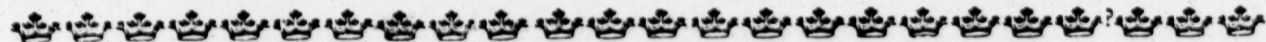
But this will not do you any Service, unless of Favour we grant, that you here, is you of the *Church of Rome*; and but very little, if that be granted; for then every Bishop, every Priest must be infallible. For there is not the meanest of the Messengers of Christ, but this may be verified of him, That he that heareth him, heareth Christ; and he that despiseth him, despiseth Christ.

*They urge out of John xiv. verse 15, 16.*

*I will ask my Father, and he will give you another Paraclete, that he may abide with you for ever, even the Spirit of Truth.*

But here also, what Warrant have we, by you to understand the *Church of Rome*? whereas he that compares, *Verse 26.* with this, shall easily perceive, that our Saviour speaks only of the Apostles in their own Persons; for there he says, going on in the same Discourse, *The Holy Ghost whom the Father will send in my Name, he shall teach you all Things, and bring all Things to your Remembrance, whatsoever I have said to you*; which cannot agree but to the Apostles themselves in Person; and not to their Successors, who had not yet been taught, and therefore had not forgotten any Thing, and therefore could not have them brought to their Remembrance. But what if it had been promised to them and their Successors? Had they no Successors but them of the *Roman Church*? This indeed is pretended and cried up, but for Proofs of it, *desiderantur*.

Again, I would fain know whether there be any Certainty that every Pope is a good Christian, or whether he may not be, in the Sense of the Scripture, *of the World*? If not, how was it that *Bellarmino* should have Cause to think, that such a Rank of them went successively together to the Devil?



III. *A Conference concerning the Infallibility of the Roman Church: Proving that the present Church of Rome either errs in her Worshipping the Blessed Virgin Mary, or that the Ancient Church did err in condemning the Collyridians, as Hereticks.*

1. Demand.



WHETHER the *Infallibility* of the *Roman Church*, be not the Foundation of their Faith which are Members of that Church?

Ans. The *Infallibility* of the Church is (not the Foundation, but) a Part of their Faith who are Members of the Church. And the *Roman Church* is held to be the Church, by all those who are Members of it.

Reply.

*Reply.* That which is the last Reason, why you believe the Scripture to be the written Word of God, and unwritten Traditions his unwritten Word; and this or that to be the true Sense of Scripture, that is to you the Foundation of your Faith, and such unto you is the infallible Authority of the *Roman Church*. Therefore unto you it is not only a Part of your Faith, but also such a Part as is the Foundation of all other Parts. Therefore you are deceived, if you think there is any more Opposition between being a Part of the Faith and the Foundation of other Parts of it; than there is between being a Part of a House and the Foundation of it. But whether you will have it the Foundation of your Faith; or only a Part of it, for the present Purpose, it is all one.

2. *Demand.* Whether the Infallibility of the *Roman Church* be not absolutely overthrown, by proving the *present Roman Church* is in Errour, or that the *Ancient* was?

*Ans.* It is, if the Errour be in those Things wherein she is affirmed to be infallible; viz. in Points of Faith.

*Reply.* And this here spoken of, whether it be lawful to offer Tapers and Incense to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, is I hope a Question concerning a Point of Faith.

3. *Demand.* Whether offering a Cake to the Virgin *Mary*, be not as lawful as to offer Incense and Tapers and divers other Oblations to the same Virgin.

*Ans.* It is as lawful to offer a Cake to her Honour as Wax-Tapers; but neither the one, nor the other may be offered to her, or her honour, as the Term or Object of the Action. For to speak properly, nothing is offered to her or her honour, but to God in the honour of the blessed Virgin. For Incense, it is a foul Slander that it is offered any way to the Blessed Virgin; for that Incensing which is used in the Time of Mass, is ever understood by all Sorts of People to be directed to God only.

*Reply.* If any Thing be offered to her, she is the Object of that Oblation; as if I see Water, and through Water something else, the Water is the Object of my Sight, though not the last Object. If I honour the King's Deputy, and by him the King, the Deputy is the Object of my Action, though not the final Object: And to say these Things may be offered to her, but not as to the Object of the Action, is to say, they may be offered to her, but not to her. For what else is meant by the Object of an Action, but that Thing on which the Action is employed, and to which it is directed?

If you say that by the Object of the Action, you mean the final Object only where-with the Action is terminated; you should then have spoken more properly and distinctly, and not have denied her simply to be the Object of this Action, when you mean only she is not such a Kind of Object; no more than you may deny a Man to be a living Creature, meaning only that he is not a Horse.

Secondly, I say, it is not required of *Roman Catholics*, when they offer Tapers to the Saints, that by an actual Intention they direct their Action actually to God; but it is held sufficient, that they know and believe that the Saints are in Subordination and near Relation to God, and that they give this Honour to the Saints because of this Relation: And to God himself rather habitually and *interpretative*, than actually, expressly and formally: As many Men honour the King's Deputy, without having any present Thought of the King, and yet their Action may be interpreted an Honour to the King, being given to his Deputy, only because he is his Deputy, and for his Relation to the King. Thirdly, I say, there is no Reason or Ground in the World, for any Man to think, that the *Collyridians* did not chuse the Virgin *Mary* for the Object of their Worship, rather than any other Woman or any other Creature, meerly for her Relation to Christ; and by Consequence there is no Ground to imagine, but that at least habitually and *interpretative*, they directed their Action unto Christ, if not actually and formally. And *Ergo*, if that be a sufficient Defence for the Papists, that they make not the Blessed Virgin the final Object of their Worship, but worship her, not for her own Sake, but for her Relation unto Christ: *Epiphanius* surely did ill to charge the *Collyridians* with Heresy, having nothing to impute to them, but only that he was informed, that they offered a Cake to the Honour of the Blessed Virgin, which Honour yet they might, and without Question did give unto her for her Relation unto Christ, and so made her not the last Object and Term of their Worship; and from hence it is evident, that he conceived the very Action it self, substantially and intrinsically malicious, i.e. he believed it a Sin that they offered to her at all; and so by their Action put her in the Place of God, by giving unto her this Worship proper to God; and not that they terminated their Action finally in her, or did in very Deed think her to be God and not a Creature.

But to speak properly, you say, nothing is offered to her or to her Honour, but to God in Honour of the Blessed Virgin.

Belike then if through *Henly* I go from hence to *London*, I may not be said properly to go to *Henly*, but only to *London*; or if through Water I see the Sand, I may not be properly said to see the Water, but only the Sand. Away with such shifting Sophistry; either leave your Practice of offering to Saints if it be naught, or colour it not over with such empty Distinctions if it be good: Christ saith to his Apostles in regard of their Relation to him, *He that heareth you heareth me, and he that despiseth you despiseth me*; and yet who doubts, but they that heard the Apostles did properly hear them, and they that despised them did properly despise them, though their Action staid not in them, but

reached up to Heaven and to Christ himself. You pray to Saints and Angels, though you do not terminate your Prayers in them; and yet I doubt not but your Prayers to Saints, may be as properly called Prayers, as those you make to God himself. For though these be of a more excellent Nature than they, yet do they agree in the general Nature that they are both Prayers. As though a Man be a more excellent living Creature than a Horse, yet he agrees with him in this, that both are living Creatures: But if nothing be properly offered to her or to her Honour, why do you in your sixth Answer say, you may offer any Thing to the Virgin Mary, by way of Presents and Gifts, by the Doctrine of the Roman Church? Certainly he that offers by way of Gift or Present, offers as properly as he that offers by way of Sacrifice; as a Horse is as properly a living Creature as a Man.

But if it were so as you say (which is most false) that you did not properly offer to the Blessed Virgin, but to God in honour of her; yet in my Judgement, this would not qualify or mend the Matter, but make it worse. For first, who taught you, that in the Time of the Gospel (after the Accomplishment of the Prediction, *Sacrifice and Offering thou wouldest not, but a Body hast thou prepared me*; after this Interpretation of it in the Epistle to the Hebrews, *He taketh away the first, that he may establish the second*) that it is still lawful to offer Tapers or Incense to God. Secondly, in my Understanding, to offer to God in honour of the Virgin, is more derogatory from God's Honour, than to offer to her in the Honour of God, for this is in my Apprehension to subordinate God to her, to make her the terminating and final Object of the Action; to make God the Way, and her the End, and by and through God to convey the Worship unto her.

But for Incense, you say, it is a foul Slander, that it is offered any way to the Blessed Virgin.

To this I answer, that your imputing Slander to me, is it self a Slander: For, 1. In your Fifth Answer, you have given a clear Intimation that you have never been out of England; so that you cannot certainly know, what is the Practice of your Church in this Point beyond Sea. And he that lives amongst you, and has but half an Eye open and free from Prejudice, cannot but see, that the Roman Religion is much more exorbitant in the general Practice of it, than it is in the Doctrine published in Books of Controversy; where it is delivered with much Caution and Moderation, nay Cunning and Dissimulation, that it may be the fitter to win and engage Profelytes; who being once ensnared, though they be afterwards startled with strange and unlooked-for Practices, yet a hundred to one, but they will rather stifle their Conscience, and dash all Scruples against the pretended Rock of their Church's Infallibility, and blindly follow those Guides, to whose Conduct they have unadvisedly committed themselves, than come off again with the Shame of being reputed weak and inconstant; so terrible an Idol is this vain nothing, the Opinion and Censure of foolish Men.

But to return again to you, I say, your Ignorance of the Practice of the Roman Church beyond the Seas, does plainly convince that you have rashly, and therefore slanderously charged me with the Crime of Slander. As for your Reason you add, consider it again, and you will see it is worth nothing. For what if Incensing in Time of Mass, be understood by all Sorts of People to be directed to God alone, (which yet you cannot possibly know) yet this I hope hinders not, but that, in Processions you may incense the Images of the Saints, and consequently (according to your Doctrine) do this Honour to the Saints themselves represented by the Images. I my self (unless I am very much mistaken) was present when this very Thing was done to the Picture of St. Bennet or St. Gregory, in the Cloister of St. Vedastus in the Monastery in Doway.

But indeed what a ridiculous Inconsequence is it, to think that Wax Tapers may lawfully be offered to the Saints and Incense may not; or if Incense may not, which you seem to disclaim as impious, that Wax-Tapers may.

4. Demand. Whether the Collyridians were not condemned as Hereticks by the ancient Church, First, for offering a Cake upon an Anniversary Feast to the Blessed Virgin. Secondly, for that they did this not being Priests.

Answer. The Collyridians were condemned as Hereticks for two Things. First, for employing Women in the Place and Office of Priests to offer a Cake (not in the Nature of a Gift or Present, but) in the Nature of a <sup>a</sup> Sacrifice, which was never lawful for any but <sup>b</sup> Men, and those <sup>c</sup> consecrated.

Secondly, for offering this <sup>d</sup> Sacrifice *eis ovoma*, in the Name of the Blessed Virgin, *id est*, unto Her, her self directly and terminatively, as an Act of <sup>e</sup> Divine Worship and Adoration, due unto Her, as unto a Sovereign <sup>f</sup> Power and Deity.

<sup>a</sup> Ut in nomen Virginis Collyridem quandam Sacrificarent. *Epiph. har. 78.* Offerunt panem in nomen Mariae, omnes autem pane participant. --- <sup>b</sup> Deo enim ab aeterno nullatenus mulier sacrificavit. *Idem hares. 79.* <sup>c</sup> Diaconissarum ordo est in Ecclesia, sed non ad sacrificandum, nam neque Diaconis concreditum est, ut aliquod mysterium perficiant. *Id. Ibid.* --- <sup>d</sup> Vid. sup. nota. --- <sup>e</sup> Mortuis cultum divinum praestantes, *Id. Ibid.* And again: Revera virgo erat honorata, sed non ad adorationem nobis data, sed ipsa adorans Deum. And again. Non ut adoretur Virgo, nec ut Deum hanc efficeret, &c. Sit in honore Maria; Pater et Filius & Spiritus S. adoretur, Mariam nemo adoret. Deo debetur hoc mysterium *Id. Ibid.* <sup>f</sup> Pro Deo hanc introducere statuerant, *Id. Ibid.* Revera Sanctum erat Maria corpus non tamen Deus. And again. Mulierem eam appellavit *Joh. ii.* Velut prophetans: & ne aliqui nimium admirati Sanctam, in hanc heresim dilabantur. And again. Non tamen aliter genita est praeter hominis naturam, sed sicut omnes ex semine viri & utero Mulieris. *Id. Ibid.*

*Reply.* It seems then these Women might offer this Cake to the Honour and Name of the Virgin Mary, if they had done it as a *Gift* or *Present*, and not as a *Sacrifice*. *Epiphanius* then surely was too hasty to condemn them, being informed of nothing, but that they offered a Cake unto her. Methinks before he had put them in his Catalogue, he should have enquired whether they offered this Cake as a *Gift* only, or as a *Sacrifice*. Certainly had the Practice of offering to Saints by way of Gifts, been the Practice of the Church in his Time, he would not have been so uncharitable, as to condemn that Action as impious and heretical, which might have received so lawful and pious a Construction. But he, good Man, it seems could not conceive a Difference between a Sacrifice and the offering a Creature by way of Consumption to the Honour of that to which it is offered. The subtle Wits of our Times I hope have found out another Definition for it, and I shall understand by you what it is. But if you can find no other, then certainly, though setting up a Picture, or hanging up a Leg or Eye or Ear in memory of some miraculous Cure, obtained by a Saint's Intercession, would be a *Gift* or *Present* only; yet offering of Incense, or burning a Taper in the Honour of a Saint, daub the Matter how you will, will be without Question a *Sacrifice*. If you say, that there may be such an Offering and yet no Sacrifice; I would know then, how you would prove that the *Collyridians* Offering was indeed a Sacrifice? All that *Epiphanius* says of them is but this --- *Panem proponunt & in Maria nomen offerunt*. And though this Offering of theirs was indeed a Sacrifice in the Notion of the Word, which I have given it, yet doth he not any where say expressly, *That they did sacrifice or offer it as a Sacrifice*, but only and barely that they did offer it; not using (as good Fortune would have it) any Word which doth of necessity, and properly signify to sacrifice; and therefore you are fain to help the Dice, and alter every Place for your Advantage. *Epiphanius* says not, as you translate him, *ut in nomen Virginis Collyridem quandam sacrificent*; nor *sacrificantes offerunt*, as *Petavius*; but *ἐπιτελεῖν* which may as well signify, to consecrate or offer, as to sacrifice, if there be any Difference between them. So the next Place, *offerunt panem in nomen Mariae, omnes autem pane participant*; proves not I hope offering by way of Sacrifice, unless the Consumption of the Oblation make it a Sacrifice; which if it do, how your Tapers can be kept from being Sacrifices I cannot imagine; unless again perhaps Consumption by way of Eating will make it a Sacrifice, and by Burning will not; which cannot be, because the whole Burnt-offerings were Sacrifices as well as any other.

Your third Place is, *Deo autem ab aeterno nullatenus mulier sacrificavit*. But *ἱεργεῖν* signifies not to sacrifice, but only to perform the Office of a Priest; and so *Petavius* translates the Place, *Nunquam sacerdotio functa est mulier*. And though Sacrificing be one perhaps, yet will you not say it is the only Office of a Priest; as your next and last Place would have declared, had you set it down faithfully; but in that also you juggle again, and force it to speak to your Purpose thus. *Diaconissarum ordo est in Ecclesia, sed non ad sacrificandum*; but *Petavius* hath translated it truly thus: *Quamquam vero Diaconissarum in Ecclesia ordo sit, non tamen ad sacerdotii functionem, aut ullam administrationem institutus est*. And now though, by an usual Synecdoche, the Name of the Genus be given to the Species, and therefore had a Man fairly and candidly translated *ἱεργεῖν* by *Sacrifico*, I should not have much condemned him, yet to do it when the Question is, whether this their Offering, confessed to be an Offering, were in propriety of Speech a Sacrifice, to do it for Ends, to shift off a convincing Argument, to palliate over a foul Matter, by putting a verbal Difference where there is none indeed, and all that you may *Imperitos rerum in fraudem illicere*; that is, --- But I forbear you.

But Secondly it is pretended [they offered this Sacrifice *εἰς ὄνομα*. in the Name of the Blessed Virgin; i. e. unto her, her self, directly and terminately as an Act of Divine Worship and Adoration due unto her, as unto a Sovereign Power and Deity.] And to colour and countenance this strange Gloss, many Places are quoted out of *Epiphanius*, which I will examine in order as they lie.

The first Place is, *mortuis cultum Divinum praestantes*, where your Meaning is, I believe, that *Epiphanius* says the *Collyridians* did so; but the Truth is he says only, *mortuos colentes*; as *Petavius* translates it; and therefore here once again you help the Dice; yet if he had said so, why should you rather from *cultum divinum* collect that, that they thought her God, than from *mortuis*, that they thought her dead, and therefore certainly not a God? Certainly this can be no Warrant to you, that *Epiphanius* charges them with so thinking: For Protestants you know impute to Papists that they give to Saints *cultum divinum*, and yet they do not impute to them the Heresy of thinking, that the Saints are Sovereign Powers and Deities: But as *S. Paul* accuseth the Gentiles, for that, knowing God to be God, they did not worship him as God, so on the other Side, Protestants condemn Papists, and *Epiphanius*, for ought we can see hitherto, might condemn the *Collyridians*, for that, knowing the Blessed Virgin not to be God, they yet worshipped her as God. That is, gave her that Worship which is God's own peculiar, which yet they might do, not because they thought her God, but because this Worship, which was indeed proper to God, they might think not proper, but communicable to such Creatures as were high in his Favour.

## 22 A CONFERENCE concerning the

The next Place is--- *Revera virgo erat honorata, sed non ad adorationem nobis data, sed ipsa adorans Deum, &c.*

I answer, that the *&c.* perhaps conceals something more pertinent to your Purpose, but in the Words set down there appears to me just nothing; for I can frame out of them no other Syllogism but this.

Whatsoever *Epiphanius* in this Place says is not to be adored, that the *Collyridians* thought to be God.

But *Epiphanius* here says the Virgin is not to be adored. *Ergo*, The *Collyridians* thought her God.

Of this Syllogism I deny the *major* Proposition, and I believe shall stay as long for a Proof of it, as I have done for an Answer to some other Discourses, which being written in a few Days, have waited now with a longing Expectation for a promised Answer many Months. If you say, you would conclude from these Words, that they did adore her, and therefore thought her God, I have answered already, that they might do this, not because they thought her God, but because they thought Creatures, high in God's Favour, capable of Adoration.

The next Place--- *Non ut adoretur Virgo, nec ut Deum hanc efficeret*--- tells us that Christ took Flesh of the Virgin, not that she should be adored, nor to make her God: And this you think imports, that they conceive her God. Yet if I should, condemning your Practice of offering Tapers to her, use the same Words and say,---*Christ took Flesh of the Virgin, not that she should be adored, or to make her God*: You would not yet conceive that I charged you with the Heresy of believing her God, but only of the Impiety of giving to her that Worship which was peculiar to God; and why then might not *Epiphanius*, having like Occasion, use the same Words to the *Collyridians* upon the same, and no other Ground.

The next Place---*Mariam nemo adoret, Deo debetur hoc mysterium*--- is so far from proving your Imagination, that it strongly confirms my Assertion, that *Epiphanius* did not impute to the *Collyridians* the Opinion, that the Virgin Mary was God. If I should say to a *Papist*, the Blessed Virgin is not to be worshipped with the Worship of *Hyperdulia*, because such Worship is due only to the Mother of God, would they not say I were mad, and argued against my self, for that they believed she was the Mother of God. By like Reason, if *Epiphanius* knew that the *Collyridians* believed the Virgin Mary to be God, he reasoned as wildly against himself in saying---*Mariam nemo adoret, Deo debetur hoc mysterium*--- For it is very true (might they have said) this Service is due to God alone, but you know our Belief and Profession that she is God, and therefore by your own Rule capable of this Worship.

The next Place is--- *Pro Deo hanc introducere studuerunt*. And may not this be justly said to any Man, who to any Thing besides God, gives that Worship which is proper and peculiar unto God? What if to a Man that should teach--- *The Pope had Power to dispense with Men for the keeping of God's Laws*--- I should say, *pro Deo Papam introducis*. Must I of necessity mean that that Man did verily believe the Pope not a Man but a Sovereign Power and Deity? *St. Paul* tells us that *Covetousness is Idolatry*; he tells us of some whose God is their Belly; is it therefore consequent, that every covetous Man doth indeed believe his Gold, and every Glutton his Belly, to be indeed a Sovereign Power and Deity? Away with such Fopperies. Whosoever loves, or fears, or trusts in any Thing more than God, may yet be justly said to make that his God, and whosoever should worship any Creature with that external Worship which God has appropriated to himself, might justly be said to bring in that Creature for God. *St. Paul* tells us of some, who in Words professed God, yet *factis negabant*, in their Deeds denied him; so these on the contrary, may in their Words deny this Creature to be God, and in their Hearts not think it so, yet seeing their Actions to it are as if it were God, they may be justly charged, that with their Deeds they make this Creature God.

*Qui fingit Sacros ex auro & marmore vultus,  
Non facit ille Deos, qui colit ille facit.*

What, if upon consideration of the strangely enormous Worship which *Papists* give to the Virgin Mary (swearing by her Name, making Vows unto her, offering Tapers to her Honour, attributing a Kind of communicated Omniscience and almost Omnipotence to her, as I can easily make good they do, partly out of the Offices of their Church, partly out of private Mens Works, but set out with Licence and Approbation) what I say, if upon this Consideration I should affirm, *pro Deo ipsam introducere conantur*. Would it therefore be consequent, that I must impute this Blasphemy to them, that they believed and taught her to be a Sovereign Power and Deity? I trow not. And therefore *Epiphanius* might say the same of the *Collyridians* considering their Action, without any Intent of imputing to them any such Opinion. This *Petavius* sure saw well enough, and therefore (as I shall hereafter demonstrate to the Eye) to countenance his Marginal Annotation, *Quidam Mariam Deum esse crediderunt*, he cunningly abuses and perverts *Epiphanius's* Text with false

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Translation. — *Sic pugnāt, Sic est metuendus Ulysses.* — The next Place is, *revera sanctum erat Mariæ corpus non tamen Deus.* (*The Body of Mary was truly holy, but not a God.*) As much to the Purpose as — *Tityre tu patula* — for what if *Epiphanius* say, she is not God, and therefore not to be adored, does it therefore follow that the *Collyridians* believed she was a God? He that knows Logick or Sense, cannot but know, that he that will confute an Adversary's Conclusion, must chuse such Principles to do it, to which his Adversary consents, and out of that which he grants, prove that which he denies; or if his first Propositions be not agreed to by his Adversary, he must prove them in the End by such as are agreed to; or else he does nothing. And therefore seeing *Epiphanius* thinks it sufficient for the convincing of the *Collyridians*, of the Unlawfulness of the Practice, to say, she was not God; it is evident, that so far was he from imputing to them the Belief that she was God, that he seems rather to take the contrary for a Principle agreed upon between them, which it was sufficient to say, and superfluous to prove. This Answer I thought good to make, while I conceived that here *Epiphanius* had denied the Person of the Virgin *Mary* to be God; but after upon better Consideration I found that *Petavius* had abused me with adding to *Epiphanius* of his own — *Ille fuit* — and that *Epiphanius* says not here, *non tamen Deus* (*she was not God*) of her Person, but of her Body; and as yet I do not understand that you impute to the *Collyridians* the Belief, that her Body was God.

The next Place — *Mulierem eam appellavit, &c.* — says no more but this; that our Saviour calls the Blessed Virgin, *Woman*, that no Man might think her any Thing more than a Woman, as it were prophetically refuting the Schisms and Heresies which would be in the World; lest some out of excess of Admiration of her, might fall into the Dotage of this Heresy. Thus far *Epiphanius*; but then the Question will be, what was this Heresy? You say the Belief that she was God. I say, not that she was God, but that they might lawfully offer to her. And as I deny not but it follows, *she is a Woman, therefore not a God*; so I think you will grant it follows as justly, *she is a Woman, therefore not to be adored with Offerings.* And therefore seeing the Words lie indifferently between us, and are not expressly and especially here applied, for the Refutation of that Heresy, which you pretend they were guilty of, I see no Reason why *Epiphanius* might not as well intend them for that Purpose which I conceive, as for that which you conceive.

The last Place alledged tells us, that *she was begotten and born as other Men and Women are.* Which, if the *Collyridians* had thought her God, eternal and absolutely without Beginning, should not have been barely said but proved, as being in Effect the very Point in Question; and therefore seeing *Epiphanius* contents himself with saying so without Proof, it is evident he never thought they would make difficulty to grant it, and consequently, that they did not believe her to be God Eternal.

But then again, if the Rule be good which Part of our Proofs depend upon, That whatever *Epiphanius* denies in this Discourse, that the *Collyridians* held (for upon that Ground from — *Non ut Deum hanc efficeret; & non tamen Deus,* you conclude they believed her God) If I say this Rule be good, then you should be constant to it, and now that he says, — *Non tamen aliter genita est præter hominum naturam,* (*she was not begotten in a different Way from other Men,* you should infer, that they believed not that she was God, but that she was otherwise born and begotten than the ordinary Sort of Men. And so whereas he says before — *Non tamen corpus de cælo tulit* — (*her Body was not from Heaven*) you should infer, that they believed her Body came from Heaven. And again from those — *Sanctum erat Mariæ corpus non tamen Deus* — you should collect that they thought not only her Person, but her Body to be God; or if these be wild and weak Deductions, then you must acknowledge that I have done yours some Favour in vouchsafing them a particular Answer.

5. Demand. Whether in the Church of *Rome*, it be not an approved and perpetually practised Worship of the Blessed Virgin, that Incense (which was never anciently offered unto any, either by *Jews* or *Gentiles*, but to the true, or to a supposed true God) and Tapers and divers other Oblations, should be offered to her Honour?

Ans. A Practice of the Church of *Rome*, and approved too by those that practise it, belongs not to her, except it be a Practice of the Church and approved by her. What her Practice is abroad I know not; here at Home I see no such Practice; nor do I know any Approbation of it, in any of her publick Declarations: But this I know, that there is nothing in it unlawful or favouring of the *Collyridian Superstition*, to offer Wax Tapers or any other Thing to the Memory of the Blessed Virgin or any other canonized Saint, either as Means to procure their Intercession, by these outward Signs of the Honour and Devotion which they bear to them (as of Old we find by *S. Austin* <sup>b</sup> they did use to

<sup>b</sup> *Ad aquas Tibilotanas. Episcopo offerente Projecto, reliquias martyris gloriosissimi Stephani, ad ejus memoriam veniebat magnæ multitudinis concursus & occursum; Ibi cæca mulier, ut ad episcopum portantem pignora Sacra duceretur, oravit: Flores quos ferebat dedit; recepit, oculis admovet, protinus vidit. August. de Civit. Dei, l. 22. c. 8. abscedens aliquid de Altari (S. Stephani) florum quod occurrit, tulit. Idem. ibid. &c.*

adorn their Tombs with Flowers) or as Monuments of their Thankfulness for some Benefits received by their Intercession, as *Theodoret*<sup>b</sup> tells us of Eyes and Ears and Hands, some of Silver (hung up in the Chapels of the Saints) that had been presented as Oblations by those that had recovered Health in those Members, according to their Vows made to that Purpose in Time of Sicknefs.

*Reply.* I do not deny, but a Practice may be *tolerated* in a Church, and not *approved*: As the *Publick Stews* are in *Italy*, and *Usury* in *England*: But it is one Thing to tolerate with Condemnation, another to tolerate without Condemnation, nay with Condemnation of those that should oppose or condemn it. And such I doubt not upon Examination, you may find in this Practice, general in the *Church of Rome*, offering Tapers to the Saints, and for their Honour. I say, not only to God, at the Memories of the Saints, as you would mince the Matter, which yet were a groundless Superstition, (God having appointed no such Sacrifice to be offered to him under the Gospel) but to the Saints themselves, and to their Honour, prove this lawful for either of those Purposes you mention, either to procure their Intercession, or as Monuments of Thankfulness for Benefits obtained by it, and then you shall do something. Otherwise you will but trifle as now you have done: For instead of telling us what may be done *de jure*, you tell us what of Old has been done *de facto*. As if *ab antiquo*, and *a principio* were all one; or as if the Church (as we pretend) being subject to Corruption, Part of this Corruption might not possibly have come in *St. Austin's* or *Theodoret's* Time; yet this I say not as if I would decline the Trial of this Cause by *St. Austin* or *Theodoret*; but because I am sure you will not be tried by the Fathers, no not the Consent of Fathers in all Things; and therefore there is no Reason nor Equity in the World, that you should serve your selves with their Authority in any Thing.

But now what is it, which was done in *St. Austin's* Time, that may justify the Practice of the *Roman Church*? Was there then any approved Offering of Wax Tapers and Incense, to the Queen of Heaven, or any other Saint? *nil horum*; you neither do, nor can produce any Thing out of *St. Austin* to this Purpose. But what then is it? Why forsooth, they were used to adorn their Tombs: *Egregiam vero laudem & spolia ampla*; of Old in *St. Austin's* Time they were used to adorn their Tombs with Flowers, therefore we may offer Tapers to them. Truly an excellent *Enthymeme*, but I fear the concealed Proposition, which should make it a *Syllogism*, hides its Head for shame, and dares not appear; yet we will for once make bold to draw it forth into Light, that you may look upon it and tell us how you like it. This therefore it is.

*Whose soever Tombs we adorn, to them and to their Honour we may offer Wax Tapers.*

Consider it I pray you, and if you approve it, then approve also of offering Tapers, not only to canonized Saints, but to all Christians that may have Monuments in Churches. For all their Tombs may be adorned, with more precious and lasting Ornaments than Flowers; yet if you had proved but this only, that in *St. Austin's* Time, they adorned the Saints Tombs with Flowers, by these outward Signs to procure their Intercession; this, though not much to the Purpose, had been not absolutely to delude us. But your quoted Places prove not so much as this; and yet I believe you quoted the best you could find. Nay they prove not that they did adorn their Tombs with Flowers at all, much less that they did it for your pretended Purpose; such Fools you think to deal with, that will take any Thing for any Thing. Your first Place, I say proves it not, unless out of meer Courtesy we understand by *ferebat*, *she brought to adorn St. Stephen's Tomb*.

The Second proves it not, unless we give you Leave after *Altari* (without Warrant from *St. Austin*) to put in, *St. Stephani*, whereas I am yet to seek for any Place in *St. Austin*, where he calls any Altar, the Altar of such or such a Saint, which yet I think they forbore, not for the Unlawfulness, but for fear of Misconstruction.

Then for *Theodoret* he tells us indeed of Vows made, of Monuments of Thankfulness dedicated, for Benefits obtained by the Intercession of the Martyrs. But here also I fear your Conscience tells you, that you abuse us and hide your self in Ambiguities. For to whom does *Theodoret* say these Vows were made? To whom were these Monuments of Thankfulness dedicated? What, to the Author, or Procurers of the received Favours? To God, or to the Martyrs? If to the Martyrs, that had been something towards, though not home to your Purpose: For there is a wide Difference between offering of a Creature by way of Consumption (as was never lawfully done but to God alone, as a Profession that he is Lord of the Creature) and erecting a permanent Monument to a Saint's Honour; which I doubt not but it may lawfully be done to a living Saint, much more to the Memory of a Martyr. But *Theodoret* in the Place, hath not so much as this: Nay it is evident that these Gifts he speaks of, were both vowed and payed to God himself. His Words are — *Piè precatos ea consequi*, &c. — that they which pray piously, obtain the Things which they desire; they paying of their vowed Presents in the Sign of their recovered Health, doth abundantly testify. For their Lord accepts most graciously these Presents how mean so ever.

<sup>b</sup> *Theodoretus de curandis affect.* Græc. l. 8.

6. *Demand.* Whether, according to the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*, this may not be done lawfully by Women and Children, and Men that are not Priests?

*Answ.* They may offer any Thing by way of *Gifts* and *Presents*, by the Doctrine of the *Roman Church*; but it is contrary to the *Roman Doctrine*, for any other than Priests, to offer any Thing by way of *Sacrifice*, as the *Collyridians* did.

*Reply.* *Aristotle* says most truly, that true Definitions ( he means I think of the Terms of the Conclusion to be demonstrated ) are the best Principles of Science; and therefore want of them, must needs be a Cause of Errour and Confusion in any Discourse. Let me therefore here request you to set down what is a *Sacrifice*, and how distinguished from an Oblation by way of *Gift* or *Present*, and you will quickly see, that if the *Collyridians* offering a Cake to the Blessed Virgin were indeed a *Sacrifice*; your offering a Taper to her, must likewise be so. For a *Sacrifice* is nothing else ( for ought I know ) but the Oblation of any Creature by way of *Consumption*, to the Honour of that, whatsoever it is, to which it is offered. For if you include in the Definition, that this Offering must be intended to the highest Lord of all: So is, as you pretend, your offering of Tapers to the Blessed Virgin, intended to God finally, though not immediately. If you say it must be directed immediately to him; and is, not only *no lawful Sacrifice*, but simply *no Sacrifice* unless it be so: I say you may as well require to the Essence of a *Sacrifice*, that it be offered by a Priest, and from thence conclude, because the *Collyridians* were, you say, no Priests, their Offering was no *Sacrifice*. For the Object of the Action is as extrinsic to the Essence of it; as the Efficient; and therefore if the Defect of a due and legitimate Offerer, cannot hinder but that an Offering may be a true *Sacrifice*, neither will the want of a due and lawful Object be any Hindrance, but still it may be so. Secondly, I say, this is to confound the Essence of Things, with the lawful Use of them; in effect as if you should say, that a Knife, if misemployed, were a Knife no longer. Thirdly, it is to make it not unlawful, to offer Incense ( which yet you seem somewhat scrupulous of ) or Burnt-offerings to the Virgin *Mary*, or the Saints, or even to living Men, provided you know and believe and profess them to be Men and not Gods. For this once supposed, these Offerings will be no longer *Sacrifices*, and to offer to Creatures Offerings that are not *Sacrifices*, you say, by the Doctrine of the *Roman Church* is lawful: It is lastly, to deny ( which is most ridiculous ) that the *Pagans* did indeed *Sacrifice* to any of their inferiour Gods.

7. *Demand.* If it be said, that this Worship which they give to the Blessed Virgin is not that of *Latria*, but that of *Dulia* or *Hyperdulia*, for that they do not esteem her God; or if it be said, that their Worship to her is not finally terminated neither, but given her for her Relation to Christ: I demand, whether, as it is in *St. Paul's* Judgment, a great Crime for him that knows God, not to worship him as God, so it be not as great a Crime, for him that knows her not to be God, yet to worship her ( as if she were God ) with the Worship which is proper, and hath been always appropriated to God alone, such is the *Worship of Oblations*?

*Answ.* The *Worship of Oblations*, as *Worship* is taken largely for *Honour*, and *Oblations* for a *Gift* or *Present*, was never appropriate to God alone; take *Worship* and *Oblations* in any higher Sense, and so it is not allowed in the Church of *Rome*.

*Reply.* The Oblation of Things by way of *Consumption*, is the Worship I spoke of; this is a higher Matter, than that of *Gifts* and *Presents*, and this is allowed in the Church of *Rome*, to be employed on, and directed unto, ( though not terminated in ) the Virgin *Mary* and other Saints.

8. *Demand.* Whether any Thing can be said for the justifying the Doctrine and Practice of the *Roman Church* in this Matter, which might not also have been as justly pretended, for the Justification of the *Collyridians* in their Opinion and Practice; seeing it was never imputed to them, that they accounted the Blessed Virgin God, or that they believed in more Gods than one. And seeing their chusing her out, rather than any other Woman or any other Creature, for the Object of their Devotion, shews plainly, that they gave it her for her Relation to Christ?

*Answ.* The *Collyridians* could not say this, as appears by what has been said before: As it is a most shameless Slander upon God's Church, and such as ( without Repentance ) will lie heavy upon his Soul that uttered it, that the *Collyridians*, might as justly and truly have said all this for themselves as *Papists* for themselves.

*Reply.* To this I reply four Things. 1. That to my last and most convincing Reason, you have answered ( as much as you could I believe, but yet you have answered ) nothing; and I am well content you should do so; for where nothing is to be had, the King himself must lose his Right. 2. That if I had thought or spoke better of the *Collyridians* than they deserved, yet I cannot see how this had been to slander the Church of *Rome*. 3. That I did not positively affirm, that the *Collyridians* might do so, but desired only it might be enquired into and examined, whether, for the Reasons alledged, they might not do so. 4. And lastly, upon a thorough Examination of the Matter, I do now affirm, what before I did not, that the *Collyridians* for ought appears to the contrary, might justly and truly have said for the Justification of their Practice, as much, nay the very same Things that the *Papists* do for theirs. For they might have said, we are Christians

itians and believe the Scripture, and believe there is but one God. We offer not to the Blessed Virgin, as believing she is God, but the Mother of God; our Worship of her is not absolute but relative, not terminated in her, but given to her for her Son's sake: And if our Practice may be allowed, we are content to call our Oblation not a Sacrifice, but a Present; neither is there any Reason, why it should be called a Sacrifice, more than the offering and burning a Taper to the Honour of the same Virgin. All this the *Collyridians* might have said for themselves; and therefore I believe, you will have more Cause to repent you for daubing over Impiety with untempered Mortar, than I shall have for flandering the *Roman Church* with a Matter of Truth.

9. Demand. Whether therefore, one of the two must not of necessity follow; that either the ancient Church erred in condemning the Opinion and Practice of the *Collyridians* as heretical, or else that the Church of *Rome* errs, in approving the same Opinion, and the same Practice in Effect, which in them was condemned. That is, whether the Church of *Rome* must not be heretical with the *Collyridians*, or else the *Collyridians* Catholicks with the Church of *Rome*?

Ans. It appears by the former Answers, that neither did the Ancient Church err, in condemning the Opinion and Practice of the *Collyridians*, as heretical, nor doth the Church of *Rome* approve the same Opinion or the same Practice.

Reply. The Substance of the former Answers is but this. That the *Papists* offer to the Virgin *Mary* and other Saints, Wax Tapers by way of Gift or Present, not of Sacrifice; and to her not as to a God, but as the Mother of God; but that the *Collyridians* offered to her by way of Sacrifice, as to a Sovereign Power and Deity. To this I have replied and proved, that it no way appears, that the *Collyridians* did believe the Blessed Virgin to be a Sovereign Power and Deity, or that she was not subordinate to God. Then, that their Offering might be called a Gift, as well as the *Papists*, and the *Papists* a Sacrifice as well as theirs; both of them being a Consumption of a Creature in Honour of the Blessed Virgin, and neither of them more than so; and therefore either the *Collyridians* must stand with the Church of *Rome*, or the Church of *Rome* fall with the *Collyridians*. It had been perhaps sufficient for me, thus to have vindicated my Assertion from contrary Objections, without taking on my self the Burden of proving a Negative; yet to free from all Doubt the Conformity of the *Roman Church* with the *Collyridians*, in this Point, I think it will be necessary to shew, and that by many very probable Arguments, that *Epiphanius* did not impute to them the pretended Heresy of believing the Virgin *Mary* God; for then that other Evasion, that their Oblation is a Sacrifice, and the *Papists* is not; together with this Pretence, will of it self fall to the Ground.

Now an Opinion may be imputed to a Man two Ways; either because he holds and maintains it expressly, and formally, and in Terms; or because it may by a rational Deduction be collected from some other Opinion which he does hold: In this latter Sense, I deny not but *Epiphanius* might impute this Opinion we speak of to the *Collyridians*, as a Consequence upon their Practice, which Practice they esteemed lawful. But that they held it and owned it formally and in Terms; this I say *Epiphanius* does not impute to them, which I think for these Seven Reasons.

My first Reason is, because he could not justly do so, and therefore without evident Proof we may not say he did so; for this were to be uncharitable to him, in making him uncharitable to others. Now I say he could not justly charge them with this Opinion, because he was not informed of any such Opinion that they held, but only of their Practice, and this Practice was no sufficient Proof that they held this Opinion. That his Information reached no farther than their Practice, appears out of his own Words. *I have heard* (saith he *Hæres.* 78.) *another Thing with great Astonishment, that some being madly affected to the Blessed Virgin, endeavour to bring her in, in God's Place, being mad and besides themselves: For they report that certain Women in Arabia have devised this Vanity, to have Meetings, and offer a Cake to the Blessed Virgin.* The same Practice he sets down, *Hæres.* 79. But that he was informed of any such Opinion that they held, he has not a Word or Syllable to any such Purpose; and yet if he had been informed of any, here had been the Place to set it down; which certainly, writing his Book rather of heretical Opinions than Practices, he would not have omitted to do, if there had been occasion; his Silence therefore is a sufficient Argument, that he was not informed of any such Opinion that they held.

Now that their Practice was no Assurance that they held this Opinion, it is manifest; because they might ground it not upon this Opinion *that she was God*, but upon another as false, though not altogether so impious, *That the Worship of Oblations was not proper to God alone.* And therefore, though *Epiphanius* might think, or fear that possibly they might ground their Practice upon that other impious Opinion, and therefore out of abundant Caution confute that also, as he doth obliquely and in a Word, and once only in all his long Discourse, by telling them that our Saviour called her *Woman*; yet he had no Ground from their Practice to assure himself, that certainly they did hold so. Nay Justice and Reason and Charity would, that he should incline himself to believe, that they grounded their Practice upon that other Opinion, which had less Impiety in it, that is, that this Worship of Oblations, was not proper to God, but communicable to

Creatures high in his Favour. My

My second is, Because, if *Epiphanius* had known, that these *Collyridians* held the Blessed Virgin to be a Supreme Power and Deity; this being a far greater Matter than offering a Cake to her, should in all probability rather have given them their Denomination; at least when he sets down what their Heresy was, he would have made this Part of it, that they did believe so: But to the contrary, in his *Anacephalæosis*, p. 130. he thus describes them. *They that offer to the Name of the Blessed Virgin Cakes, who are called Collyridians.* And again, p. 105. *They that offer to the Blessed Virgin Cakes who are called Collyridians:* So to the 79th Heresy he gives this Title, *Against the Collyridians who offer to Mary:* So *Hæres.* 78, and 79, he sets down what he heard of them; but no where that they held this Opinion of her: I conclude therefore, that he never conceived this Opinion to be a Part of their Heresy, and they were no further chargeable with it, than as a probable Consequent upon their Practice.

My third is, Because had the *Collyridians* held her God, they would have worshipped her all the Year long, and not only once a Year at a solemn Time, as *Epiphanius* says they did.

My fourth is, Because if *Epiphanius* had known that they held her God, he would questionless have urged them with those Attributes that are given to God in Scripture, as Eternity, Immortality, Impassibility, Omnipotence, &c. And shewed them, that if they believed the Scripture, they could not think of her any of those Things? If they did not, they had no Reason to think of her any Thing more than of an ordinary Woman.

My fifth is, Because had their Opinion been, that the Blessed Virgin was God; a great Part of *Epiphanius's* Discourse were plainly ridiculous; both where he says only without Proof, She was not a God but a mortal Creature, which to them that held the contrary should not have been said, but proved: But especially where he speaks to this Purpose (as he does very frequently) that the Honour of Oblations was not to be given to Angels or Men, much less to Women, but only to God; for what had that been to the *Collyridians*, if they thought her (as is pretended) a Sovereign Power and Deity? To what Purpose was it for *Epiphanius* to ask, *Quis Propheta? What Prophet ever permitted that a Man, much less a Woman should be adored, though he be yet alive? Nor John, nor Tecla, nor any other Saint. For neither shall the old Superstition have Dominion over us, that, leaving the living God, we should adore his Creatures.* To what End I say was all this, if they thought her not a Saint nor Creature, but God himself, and the Lord of all? How did this Argument touch them? *Ne angelos quidem—He suffers not the very Angels to be adored, how much less the Daughter of Anna?* If they thought her not the Daughter of Anna, but God Eternal; In vain had it been to say to them—*Not to a Woman, no nor to a Man, but to God alone is this Mystery (of Oblation) due.* So that the Angels themselves are not fit Subjects for such an Honour. Or again, *Let the Creature be turned to the Creator: Let Shame at length compel you to worship God alone:* Or lastly, that so often repeated—*Let Mary be honoured, but the Lord only adored,* For they might have answered all this in a Word, saying, all this Discourse sits besides the Cushion, and concerns us and our Offerings nothing at all: For we believe the Blessed Virgin, to whom we offer, neither Man, nor Woman, nor Angel, nor Creature, but a Deity.

A Sixth Reason let it be this, If *Epiphanius* did indeed say of the *Collyridians*, as is pretended, that they held the Virgin Mary God, and so difference their Practice from the *Papists*: Then the Author of this Answer and *Petavius* in his Translation, needed not to have dictated to him what he should say, nor make him say so whether he will or no: But it is evident they do so, as of the Author of this Answer I have already shewn; and for *Petavius* his Part, I will so present it to your View, that if you will not shut your Eyes, you shall not chuse but see it.

First then, *Hæres.* 78. *prope finem*, he (*Petavius*) sets in his Margent, *quidam Deum Mariam esse crediderunt*; and to countenance this with a *loquuntur* of his own putting in, makes them speak of her like Mad-men, i. e. they said she was God, whereas in *Epiphanius's* Greek they say just nothing.

Secondly, to fasten the pretended Opinion on them, he translates *κενοφάνημα* *Novum dogma*; presuming it seems *κενοφάνημα* would easily be mistaken for *καινοφάνημα*, and therefore means nothing by it, but a Vanity or Folly.

Thirdly, he translates *ἐτόυε* *Illud*; and so makes it look backward to that pretended *Novum dogma* of the *Collyridians*; whereas it signifies there [And] and looks forward to their Practice.

Fourthly, With the help of a Colon, he stops the Sense at *Commentas fuisse*, whereas in *Epiphanius* there is but a Comma, and the Sense goes on without Suspension.

Fifthly, with an *adeo ut*, he brings in their Action, as an Effect of their former Opinion, whereas *Epiphanius* lays nothing to their Charge but their Action only: So that whereas *Epiphanius's* Words truly translated run thus: *Another Thing I have received with great astonishment, that others being mad concerning the Blessed Virgin, have and do go about to bring her in, in the Place of God; being mad, I say, and beside themselves; for they report that certain Women in Arabia have brought this Vanity of offering a Cake to her Name.* *Petavius* makes them thus—*Not without Admiration we have heard another Thing, that some in these Things that concern the most holy Virgin, have proceeded to that degree of Madness, that they would obtrude her upon*

## 28 A CONFERENCE concerning the, &c.

us for a God, and speak of her as Mad-men; for they report that certain Women in Arabia have invented that new Opinion; so that to the Virgin's Name and Honour, they offer by way of Sacrifice a Cake or Wreath of Bread.

Again in the same Hæres. *ἱερουργεῖν διὰ γυναικῶν*, he translates advantageously---per mulieres sacrificia facere. Whereas *ἱερουργεῖν* is more general than *sacrificia facere*, and signifies sacris operari, or sacros ritus peragere.

Again, in the same Place, whereas Epiphanius says simply and absolutely ---Let no Man offer to her Name, he makes it, Let no Man offer Sacrifice to her Name; as if you might lawfully offer any Thing, provided you do not call it a Sacrifice.

So again Hæres. 79. besides his putting cunningly --- *ipsa fuit* --- which before we took Notice of; he makes no Scruple to put in *Dogma* and *Sacrificium*, wheresoever it may be for his Purpose. Epiphanius's Title to this Heresy is, *Against the Collyridians, who offer to Mary* --- Petavius puts in --- *Sacrifice*.

Again in the same Page, before D. he puts in his own *illo dogmate*, and whereas Epiphanius says ---- in all this, he makes it, in all this Opinion.

Pag. 1061. τὸ διηλυτῆς ἱστορίας he translates, this Womanish Opinion, whereas ἱστορία though perhaps it may signify a Thought, or Act of Thinking, yet I believe it never signifies an Opinion which we hold.

Ibid. at B. τοῦτο --- this --- he renders this Opinion.

Pag. 1064, at C. Nor that we should offer to her Name, simply and absolutely; he makes it, --- Nor that we should offer Sacrifice to her Name. So many Times is he fain to corrupt, and translate him partially, lest in condemning the Collyridians, he might seem to have involved the Practice of the Roman Church in the same Condemnation.

My Seventh and last Reason is this. Had Epiphanius known that the Collyridians held the Virgin Mary to be a Sovereign Power and Deity, then he could not have doubted, whether this their Offering was to her, or to God for her; whereof yet he seems doubtful and not fully resolved, as his own Words intimate; Hæres. 79. ad fin. *Quam multa, &c. How many Things may be objected against this Heresy? for idle Women either worshipping the Blessed Virgin, offer unto her a Cake, or else they take upon them to offer for her this foresaid ridiculous Oblation. Now both are foolish and from the Devil.*

These Arguments I suppose do abundantly demonstrate to any Man not veiled with Prejudice, that Epiphanius imputed not to the Collyridians the Heresy of believing the Virgin Mary, God; and if they did not think her God, there is then no Reason imaginable why their Oblation of a Cake, should not be thought a Present, as well as the Papists offering a Taper; or that the Papists offering a Taper, should not be thought a Sacrifice, as well as their offering a Cake; and seeing this was the Difference pretended between them, this being vanished there remains none at all; so that my first Conclusion stands yet firm; that either the Ancient Church erred in condemning the Collyridians, or the Present errs in approving and practising the same Worship.

### An ADVERTISEMENT.

The Reader when he meets with the Phrase *Catholic Doctrine*, in the two following Discourses, must remember, that it does not signify *Articles of Faith* determined in any General Councils, which might be looked upon as the Faith of the whole Church; but the *current and common Opinion* of the Age, which obtain'd in it without any known Opposition and Contradiction. Neither need this be wonder'd at, since they are about Matters far remov'd from the Common Faith of Christians, and having no necessary Influence upon good Life and Manners, whatsoever Necessity, by Mistake of some Scriptures, might be put upon them.

IV. *An Argument drawn from the Admitting Infants to the Eucharist, as without which they could not be saved, against the Church's Infallibility.*



THE Condition, without the Performance whereof no Man can be admitted to the Communion of the Church of *Rome*, is this; that he believe firmly and without doubting, whatsoever the Church requires him to believe: More distinctly and particularly thus:

He must believe all that to be divine Revelation which that Church teaches to be such; as the Doctrine of the Trinity; the hypostatical Union of two Natures in the Person of Christ; The Procession of the Holy Ghost from the Father and the Son; the Doctrine of Transubstantiation and such like.

Whatsoever that Church teaches to be necessary, he must believe to be necessary. As Baptism for Infants; Faith in Christ, for those that are capable of Faith; Penance for those that have committed mortal Sin after Baptism, &c.

Whatsoever that Church declares expedient and profitable, he must believe to be expedient and profitable; as Monastical Life: Prayer to Saints: Prayer for the Dead; Going on Pilgrimages: The Use of Pardons: Veneration of holy Images and Reliques: Latin Service where the People understand it not: Communicating the Laity in one Kind, and such like.

Whatsoever that Church holdeth lawful, he must believe lawful; as to marry; to make Distinction of Meats, as if some were clean and others unclean; to fly in Time of Persecution; for them that serve at the Altar, to live by the Altar; to testify a Truth by Oath, when a lawful Magistrate shall require it; to possess Riches, &c.

Now it is impossible that any Man should certainly believe any Thing; unless either it be evident of it self, or he have some certain Reason, (at least some supposed certain Reason) and infallible Ground for his Belief. Now the Doctrines which the Church of *Rome* teacheth, it is evident and undeniable that they are not evident of themselves; neither evidently true nor evidently credible. He therefore that will believe them, must of necessity have some certain and infallible Ground whereon to build his Belief of them.

There is no other Ground for a Man's Belief of them, especially in many Points, but only an Assurance of the Infallibility of the Church of *Rome*. No Man can be assured that that Church is infallible and cannot err, whereof he may be assured that she hath erred, unless she had some new Promise of Divine Assistance, which might for the Future secure her from Danger of erring; but the Church of *Rome* pretends to none such.

Nothing is more certain, than that that Church hath erred, which hath believed and taught irreconcilable Contradictions, one whereof must of Necessity be an Errour.

That the Receiving the Sacrament of the Eucharist is necessary for Infants, and that the Receiving thereof is not necessary for them: That it is the Will of God, that the Church should administer the Sacrament to them; and that it is not the Will of God that the Church should do so; are manifest and irreconcilable Contradictions: Supposing only, (that which is most evident) that the Eucharist is the same Thing, of the same Vertue and Efficacy now, as it was in the Primitive Church: That Infants are the same Things they were, have as much Need, are capable of as much Benefit by the Eucharist, now as then; as subject to irreverent Carriages, then as now. And lastly, that the present Church is as much bound to provide for the Spiritual good of Infants, as the ancient Church was: I say, these Things supposed, the Propositions before set down are plain and irreconcilable Contradictions; whereof the present *Roman* Church doth hold the Negative, and the Ancient Church of *Rome* did hold the Affirmative; and therefore it is evident, that either the present Church doth err, in holding something not necessary, which is so, or that the ancient Church did err, in holding something necessary, which was not so.

For the Negative Proposition, viz. *That the Eucharist is not necessary for Infants*; that it is the Doctrine of the present Church of *Rome*, it is most manifest. 1. From the Disuse, and Abolition, and Prohibition of the contrary ancient Practice. For if the Church did conceive it necessary for them, either simply for their Salvation, or else for their Increase or Confirmation in Grace, and Advancement to an higher Degree of Glory (unless she could supply some other Way their Damage in this Thing, which evidently she cannot) what an uncharitable Sacrilege is it, to debar and defraud them of the necessary Means of their so great spiritual Benefit? especially seeing the Administration of it might be so ordered, that irreverent Casualties might easily be prevented; which yet should they fall out against the Church's and Pastor's Intention, certainly could not offend God, and in Reason should not offend Man. Or if the Church do believe, that upon such a vain Fear of Irreverence (which we see moved not the ancient Church at all) she may lawfully forbid such a general, perpetual and necessary Charity, certainly herein she commits a far greater Errour than the former. Secondly, from the Council of *Trent's* Anathema, denounced on all that hold the contrary, in these Words. *If any Man say that the Receiving of the Eucharist, is necessary for little Children, before they come*

to Years of Discretion, let him be Anathema. Council. Trid. Sess. 21. de communione parvulorum, Can. 4.

Now for the Affirmative Part of the Contradiction, to make it evident that that was the Doctrine of the Ancient Church? I will prove it, First, from the general Practice of the Ancient Church for several Ages. Secondly, by the direct and formal Testimonies of the Fathers of those Times. Thirdly, by the Confession of the most learned Antiquaries of the Roman Church. My first Argument I form thus: If to communicate Infants was the general Practice of the Ancient Church for many Ages, then certainly the Church then believed, that the Eucharist was necessary for them, and very available for their Spiritual Benefit: But it is certain, that the Communicating of Infants was the general Practice of the Church for many Ages: Therefore the Church of those Times thought it necessary for them. To deny the Consequence of the Proposition is to charge the Church with extreme Folly, wilful Superstition and perpetual Profanation of the Blessed Sacrament. As for the Assumption, it is fully confirmed by *Clemens Rom. Constit. Apost. l. 3. c. 20.* *Dionysius Areopagita de Eccles. Hierar. cap. ult.* *S. Cyprian* and a Council of African Bishops with him, *Ep. 59. ad Fidum*; and in his Treatise *de lapsis* p. 137. Edit. *Pamel.* *Paulinus* Bishop of Nola in Italy, *An. 353. in Ep. 12. ad Senem*; out of *Ordo Romanus*, cited by *Alcuinus* *S. Bede's* Scholar and Master to *Charlemain*, in his Book *de divinis officiis cap. de Sab. Sancto Pasc.* *Gennadius Massiliensis de Eccles. dogmatibus c. 52.* *Concil. Toletanum 2 Can. 11.* It continued in the Western Church unto the Days of *Lewis* the *Debonnaire*, witness *Cardinal Perron des Passages de St. Austin. p. 100.* Some Footsteps of it remained there in the Time of *Hugo de S. Victore*, as you may see *lib. 1. de Sacram. & Cerem. cap. 20.* It was the Practice of the Church of the *Armenians* in *Waldensis* his Time, as he relates out of *Guido the Carmelite, Tom. 2. de Sacram. c. 91. de erroribus Armenorum.* It is still in Force in the Church of the *Abyssines*, witness *Franc. Alvarez, Hist. Ethiop. c. 22.* & *Thomas a Jesu de procuranda salute omnium gentium.* It has continued without any Interruption in the Greek Church, unto this present Age, as may be evidently gathered out of *Lyranus* in *c. vi. John. Arcudius l. 1. c. 14. & l. 3. c. 40. de concord. Eccles. Orient. & Occident. in Sacram. administratione*; *Card. Perron des passages de S. Austin p. 100.* where he also assures us of the Primitive Church in general, that she gave Infants the Eucharist as soon as they were baptized; and that the Custom of giving this Sacrament to little Infants, the Church then observed; and before *p. 21.* That in those Ages it was always given to Infants together with Baptism. The same is likewise acknowledged by *Contzen* in *John vi. Verse 54.* and by *Thomas a Jesu de procuranda salute omnium gentium.* So that this Matter of the Practice of the Ancient Church is sufficiently cleared. Seeing therefore the Ancient Church did use this Custom, and could have no other Ground for it, but their Belief that this Sacrament was necessary for Infants, it follows necessarily, that the Church then did believe it necessary.

But Deductions, though never so evident, are superfluous and may be set aside, where there is such Abundance of direct and formal authentical Testimonies; whereof some speak in *Thesi*, of the Necessity of the Eucharist for all Men, others in *Hypothesi*, of the Necessity of it for Infants.

My Second Argument, from the Testimonies of the Fathers of those Times, I form thus: That Doctrine in the Affirmative whereof the most eminent Fathers of the ancient Church agree, and which none of their Contemporaries have opposed or condemned, ought to be taken for the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of those Times.

But the most eminent Fathers of the Ancient Church agree in the Affirmation of this Doctrine, that the Eucharist is necessary for Infants; and none of their Contemporaries have opposed or condemned it. *Ergo*, it ought to be taken for the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of their Times. The Major of this Syllogism is delivered and fully proved by *Cardinal Perron*, in his Letter to *Casaubon* 5. obs. and is indeed so reasonable a Postulate, that none but a contentious Spirit can reject it.

For Confirmation of the *Minor*, I will alledge, first, their Sentences, which in *Thesi* affirm the Eucharist to be generally necessary for all, and therefore for Infants; and then their Suffrages, who in *Hypothesi* avouch the Necessity of it for Infants.

The most pregnant Testimonies of the first Rank are these: Of *Irenaeus* *lib. 4. cont. Hares. c. 34.* where he makes our Union to Christ by the Eucharist, the Foundation of the Hope of our Resurrection, in these Words, *As the Bread of Earth, after the Invocation of God, is now not common Bread, but the Eucharist consisting of two Things, an earthly and an heavenly; so our Bodies receiving the Eucharist, are not now corruptible (for ever) but have Hope of Resurrection.* The like he hath, *lib. 5. c. 2.* And hence in probability it is, that the *Nicene Council* stiled this Sacrament, *Symbolum resurrectionis*, the Pledge of our Resurrection. And *Ignatius* *Ep. ad Eph. Pharmacum Immortalitatis*, the Medicine of Immortality.

*Cyrl. Alex. lib. 4. in Joan. They shall never partake, nor so much as taste, the Life of Holiness and Happiness, which receive not the Son in the mystical Benediction.* *Cyrl. lib. 10. in Joan. c. 13. & lib. 11. c. 27.* *This corruptible Nature of our Body, could not otherwise be brought to Life and Immortality, unless this Body of Natural Life were conjoined to it.* The very same Things saith *Gregory Nyssen. Orat. Catech. c. 37.* And that they both speak of our Conjunction with Christ by the Eucharist, the Antecedents and Consequents do fully manifest, and it is a Thing confessed by learned Catholics. Cyprian

Cyprian de cœna Domini, and Tertullian de Resur. carnis, speak to the same Purpose: But I have not their Books by me, and therefore cannot set down their Words. S. Chrysostom, Hom. 47. in Joh. on these Words, *nisi manducaveritis*, has many pregnant and plain Speeches to our Purpose. As, the Words here spoken are very terrible: verily, saith he, if a Man eat not my Flesh, and drink not my Blood, he hath no Life in him; for whereas they said before, this could not be done, he shews it not only not impossible, but also very necessary. And a little after; he often iterates his Speech concerning the Holy Mysteries shewing the Necessity of the Thing, and that by all means it must be done. And again, What means that which he says, my Flesh is Meat indeed, and my Blood is Drink indeed; either that this is the true Meat that saves the Soul; or to confirm them in the Faith of what he had spoken, that they should not think he spoke Enigmatically, or Parabolically, but knew that by all means they must eat his Body.

But most clear and unanswerable is that Place lib. 3. de Sacerdotio, where he saith, If a Man cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven, unless he be born again of Water and the Holy Spirit; and if he which eats not the Flesh of our Lord, and drinks not his Blood, is cast out of eternal Life: And all these Things cannot be done by any other, but only by those holy Hands, the Hands, I say, of the Priest, how then without their Help can any Man, either avoid the Fire of Hell, or obtain the Crowns laid up for us.

Theophylact. in 6. Joan. When therefore we hear, that unless we eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, we cannot have Life, we must have Faith without doubting in the receiving of the Divine Mysteries, and never enquire how: For the natural Man, that is he which followeth Humane, that is, natural Reasons, receives not the Things which are above Nature and Spiritual; as also he understands not the spiritual Meat of the Flesh of our Lord, which they that receive not, shall not be Partakers of eternal Life, as not receiving Jesus, who is the true Life. S. Austin de pec. mor. & remis. c. 24. Very well do the puny Christians call Baptism nothing else but Salvation; and the Sacrament of Christ's Body nothing else but Life: from whence should this be, but as I believe from the Antient and Apostolical Tradition, by which this Doctrine is implanted into the Churches of Christ, that but by Baptism and the Participation of the Lord's Table, not any Man can attain, neither to the Kingdom of God, nor to Salvation; nor to eternal Life.

Now we are taught by the learned Cardinal, that when the Fathers speak, not as Doctors, but as Witnesses of the Customs of the Church of their Times; and do not say, I believe this should be so holden, or so understood, or so observed, but that the Church from one End of the Earth to the other believes it so, or observes it so; then we no longer hold what they say, for a Thing said by them, but as a Thing said by the whole Church; and principally when it is in Points, whereof they could not be ignorant, either because of the Condition of the Things, as in Matters of Fact; or because of the Sufficiency of the Persons: and in this Case, we argue no more upon their Words probably, as we do when they speak in the Quality of particular Doctors, but we argue thereupon demonstratively.

I subsume, But S. Austin, the sufficientest Person which the Church of his Time had, speaking of a Point wherein he could not be ignorant; says not that I believe the Eucharist to be necessary to Salvation; but the Churches of Christ believe so, and have received this Doctrine from Apostolical Tradition? Therefore I argue upon his Words not probably, but demonstratively, that this was the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of his Time. And thus much for the Thesis, That the Eucharist was held generally necessary for all. Now for the Hypothesis, That the Eucharist was held necessary for Infants in particular, Witnesses hereof are S. Cyprian, Pope Innocentius I. and Eusebius Emisenus, with S. Austin, together with the Author of the Book entituled Hypognostica.

Cyprian indeed does not in Terms affirm it, but we have a very clear Intimation of it in his Epistle to Fidus. For whereas he, and a Council of Bishops together with him, had ordered, that Infants might be baptized and sacrificed, that is, communicated, before the eighth Day, though that were the Day appointed for Circumcision by the old Law: There he sets down this as the Reason of their Decree, That the Mercy and Grace of God was to be denied to no Man.

Pope Innocent the first, (in Ep. ad Episc. Conc. Milev. quæ est inter August. 93.) concludes against the Pelagians, that Infants could not attain eternal Life without Baptism, because without Baptism they were incapable of the Eucharist, and without the Eucharist could not have eternal Life. His Words are, But that which your Fraternity affirms them to preach, that Infants without the Grace of Baptism may have the Rewards of eternal Life, is certainly most foolish; for unless they eat the Flesh of the Son of Man and drink his Blood, they shall have no Life in them.

Now that this Sense, which I have given his Words, is indeed the true Sense of them, and that his Judgement upon the Point was as I have said; it is acknowledged by Maldonat in Joan. vi. v. 54. by Binnius upon the Councils, Tom. 1. p. 624. by Sandesius, Repet. 6. c. 7. and it is affirmed by S. Austin, who was his Contemporary, held Correspondence by Letters with him, and therefore in all Probability could not be ignorant of his Meaning. I say he affirms it as a Matter out of Question, Ep. 106. and contr. Julian. l. 1. c. 4. where he tells us, that Pelagius in denying this, did dispute contra sedis Apostolicæ Auctoritatem, against the Authority of the See Apostolick: and after, But if they yield to the See Apostolick, or rather to the Master himself and Lord of the Apostles, who says, that they shall not have Life in them, unless they eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, and drink his Blood, which none

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may do but those that are baptized; then at length they will confess, that Infants not baptized cannot have Life.

Now I suppose no Man will doubt, but the Belief of the apostolick See was then (as St. *Austin* assures us, *l. 1. cont. Jul. c. 4.*) the Belief of the Church of Rome, taking it for a particular Church; and then it will presently follow, that either other Churches do not think themselves bound to Conformity of Belief with the Roman Church, notwithstanding *Irenæus* his—*necesse est ad hanc Ecclesiam, omnem convenire Ecclesiam*; or that this was then the Doctrine of the catholick Church. For *Eusebius Emisenus*, I cannot quote any particular Proof out of him; but his Belief in this Point is acknowledged by *Sancet. Repet. 6. c. 7.* Likewise for St. *Austin*, the same *Sancetius*, and *Binnius*, and *Maldonate* either not mindful or not regardful of the Anathema of the Council of *Trent*, acknowledge (in the Places abovequoted) that he was also of the same Belief, and indeed he professeth it so plainly and so frequently, that he must be a mere Stranger to him that knows it not, and very impudent that denies it. *Eucharistiam infantibus putat necessariam Augustinus*, say also the Divines of *Lovaine*, in their *Index* to their Edition of St. *Austin*, and they refer us in their *Index* only to *Tom. 2. pag. 185.* that is, to the 106th *Epist.* (the Words whereof I have already quoted, to shew the Meaning of *Innocentius*) and to *Tom. 7. pag. 282.* that is, *Lib. 1. de pec. mor. & remis. c. 20.* where his Words are; Let then all Doubt be taken away: Let us hear our Lord, I say, saying not of the Sacrament of holy Baptism, but of the Sacrament of his Table, (to which none may lawfully come, but he which has been baptized) unless you eat the Flesh of the Son, and drink his Blood, you shall have no Life in you: What seek we any farther? What can be answered hereunto? What, will any Man dare to say, that this appertains not to little Children, and that without the Participation of his Body and Blood, they may have Life, &c. with much more to the same Effect. Which Places are indeed so plain and pregnant for that Purpose, that I believe they thought it needless to add more: otherwise, had they pleased, they might have furnished their *Index* with many more References to this Point; as *de Pec. Mor. & Rem. l. 1. c. 24.* where of Baptism and the Eucharist he tells us, that *Salus & vita aterna sine his frustra promittitur parvulis.* The same he has *Cont. 2. Epist. Pelag. ad Bonifacium, l. 1. c. 22.* which yet by *Gracian de Consec. D. 3. c. Nulli*, and by *T. Aquinas, p. 3. q. 3. art. 9. ad tertiam* is strangely corrupted, and made to say the contrary; and *l. 4. c. 4.* the same *Cont. Julian. l. 1. c. 4.* and *l. 3. c. 11 & 12: Cont. Pelag. & Celest. l. 2. c. 8. de Prædest. Sanctorum ad Prosp. & Hilar. l. 1. cap. 14.* Neither doth he retract or contradict this Opinion any where, nor mitigate any one of his Sentences touching this Matter, in his Book of *Retractions.* *Sancetius* indeed tells us, that he seems to have departed from his Opinion, in his Works against the *Donatists.* But I would he had shewed some probable Reason to make it seem so to others; which seeing he does not, we have Reason to take Time to believe him. For as touching the Place mentioned by *Beda* in *1 ad Corinth. x.* as taken out of a Sermon of St. *Austin's ad infantes ad Altare.* Besides that it is very strange St. *Austin* should make a Sermon to Infants, and that there is no such Sermon extant in his Works, nor any Memory of any such in *Possidius* St. *Austin's* Scholar's Catalogue of his Works, nor in his Book of *Retractions*; setting aside all this, I say, First, That it is no Way certain that he speaks there of Infants, seeing in Propriety of Speech (as St. *Austin* himself teacheth us, *Ep. xxiii.*) Infants were not *Fideles*, of whom St. *Austin* in that supposed Sermon speaks. Secondly, Admit he does speak of Infants, where he assures us, that in Baptism every faithful Man is made Partaker of Christ's Body and Blood, and that he shall not be alienated from the Benefit of the Bread and Cup, although he depart this Life before he eat of that Bread and drink of that Cup. All this concludes no more, but that the actual Participation of the Eucharist, is not a Means simply necessary to attain Salvation, so that no Impossibility shall excuse the failing of it; Whereas all that I aim at is but this, that in the Judgement of the antient Church, it was believed necessary, in Case of Possibility; necessary, not *in actu*, but *in voto Ecclesia*; not necessary to Salvation simply, but necessary for the Increase of Grace and Glory: And therefore, lastly, though not necessary by *Necessity of Means*, for Infants to receive it; yet necessary by *Necessity of Precepts* for the Church to give it.

The last Witness I promised, was the Author of the Work against the *Pelagians*, called *Hypognostica*, who (*l. 5. c. 5.*) asks the *Pelagians*, Seeing he himself hath said, unless you eat the Flesh, &c. How dare you promise eternal Life to little Children, not regenerate of Water and the Holy Ghost; not having eaten his Flesh, nor drunk his Blood. And a little after, Behold then he that is not baptized, and he that is destitute of the Bread and Cup of Life, is separated from the Kingdom of Heaven.

To the same Purpose he speaks *l. 6. c. 6.* But it is superfluous to recite his Words, for either this is enough or nothing.

The third Kind of Proof, whereby I undertook to shew the Belief of the antient Church in this Point, was the Confession of the learnedest Writers and best vers'd in the Church of Rome. Who, what the Council of *Trent* forbids under *Anathema*, that any Man should say of any ancient Father, are not yet afraid, nor make any Scruple, to say it in plain Terms of the whole Church for many Ages together, viz. That she believed the Eucharist necessary for Infants. So doth *Maldonate* in *Joan. vi. Mitto Augustini & Innocentii sententiam*

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(*quæ etiam viguit in Ecclesia per sexcentos annos*) *Eucharistiam etiam Infantibus necessariam.* I say nothing, says he, of Austin's and Innocentius his Opinion, That the Eucharist was necessary even for Infants; which Doctrine flourish'd in the Church for six hundred Years.

The same almost in Terms hath Binnius, in his Notes on the Councils, p. 624. *Hinc constat Innocentii sententia (quæ sexcentos circiter annos viguit in Ecclesia, quam Augustinus sectatus est) Eucharistiam etiam Infantibus necessariam fuisse.*

Lastly, That Treasury of Antiquity, Cardinal Perron, though he speaks not so home as the rest do, yet he says enough for my Purpose; *Des Passages de S. Aug. c. 10. p. 101. The Custom of giving the Eucharist to Infants, the Church then observed as profitable.* This I say is enough for my Purpose: For what more contradictory, than that, the Eucharist, being the same without Alteration, to Infants, should then be profitable, and now unprofitable: Then, all Things considered, expedient to be used, if not necessary, and therefore commanded; and now, though there be no Variety in the Case, all Things considered, not necessary nor expedient, and therefore forbidden.

The Issue of all this Discourse, for ought I can see, must be this: That either both Parts of a Contradiction must be true, and consequently nothing can be false, seeing that which contradicts Truth is not so; or else, that the antient Church did err in believing something expedient which was not so; (and if so, why may not the present Church err in thinking *Latin Service* and Communion in one Kind expedient?) or that the present Church doth err, in thinking something not expedient, which is so. And if so, why may she not err in thinking Communicating the Laity in both Kinds, and Service in vulgar Languages, not expedient?



### *V. An Argument drawn from the Doctrine of the Millenaries against Infallibility.*

THE Doctrine of the Millenaries was, That before the World's End Christ should reign upon Earth for a thousand Years, and that the Saints should live under him in all Holiness and Happiness. That this Doctrine is by the present Roman Church held false and heretical, I think no Man will deny.

That the same Doctrine was, by the Church of the next Age after the Apostles held true and catholic, I prove by these two Reasons.

The first Reason, Whatsoever Doctrine is believed and taught by the most eminent Fathers of any Age of the Church, and by none of their Contemporaries opposed or condemned, that is to be esteemed the Catholick Doctrine of the Church of those Times.

But the Doctrine of the Millenaries was believed and taught by the most eminent Fathers of the Age next after the Apostles, and by none of that Age opposed or condemned.

Therefore it was the catholick Doctrine of the Church of those Times. The Proposition of this Syllogism is Cardinal Perron's Rule, (in his Epistle to Casaubon, 5. obs.) and is indeed one of the main Pillars upon which the great Fabrick of his Answer to King James doth stand, and with which it cannot but fall; and therefore I will spend no Time in the Proof of it.

But the Assumption thus I prove.

That Doctrine which was believed and taught by Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, the Disciple of the Apostles Disciples (according to Eusebius) who lived in the Times of the Apostles, saith he; by Justin Martyr, Doctor of the Church, and Martyr; by Melito Bishop of Sardis, who had the Gift of Prophecy, witness Tert. and whom Bellarmine acknowledges a Saint; by St. Irenæus, Bishop of Lyons, and Martyr; and was not opposed or condemned by any one Doctor of the Church of those Times. That Doctrine was believed and taught by the most eminent Fathers of that Age, next to the Apostles, and opposed by none.

But the former Part of the Proposition is true; ergo, the Latter is true also.

The Major of this Syllogism, and the latter Part of the Minor, I suppose will need no Proof with them that consider, that these here mentioned were equal in Number to all the other ecclesiastical Writers of that Age, of whom there is any Memory remaining, and in Weight and Worth infinitely beyond them: They were Athenagoras, Theophilus Antiochenus, Egesippus, and Hippolytus; of whose Contradiction to this Doctrine there is not extant, neither in their Works nor in Story, any Print or Footstep; which if they, or any of them, had opposed, it had been impossible, considering the ecclesiastical Story of their Time is written by the professed Enemies of the Millenaries Doctrine; who, could they have found any Thing in the Monuments of Antiquity to have put in the Ballance against Justin Martyr and Irenæus, no doubt would not have buried it in Silence; which yet they do, neither vouching for their Opinion any one of more Antiquity than Dionysius Alexandrinus, who liyed, saith Eusebius, *nostra ætate* [in our Age] but certainly in the latter

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Part of the third Century. For *Tatianus*, because an Heretick, I reckon not in this number. And if any Man say that before his Fall he wrote many Books; I say it is true, but withal would have it remembered that he was *Justin Martyr's* Scholar, and therefore in all probability of his Master's Faith, rather than against it; All that is extant of him one way or other, is but this in *St. Hierome de Script. Eccles. Justin Martyris sectator fuit.*

Now for the other Part of the *Minor*, That the forementioned Fathers did believe and teach this Doctrine. And first for *Papias* that he taught it, it is confessed by *Eusebius* the Enemy of this Doctrine (*Lib. 3. Hist. Eccl. c. 33.*) in these Words, — *Other Things besides the same Author (Papias) declares, that they came to him as it were by unwritten Tradition, wherein he affirms, that after the Resurrection of all Flesh from the Dead, there shall be a Kingdom of Christ continued and established for a Thousand Years upon Earth, after a human and corporeal Manner.* The same is confessed by *S. Hierome*, another Enemy to this Opinion, (*de Script. Eccles. S. 29.*) *Papias the Auditor of John Bishop of Hierapolis is said to have taught the judaical Tradition of a thousand Years, whom Irenæus and Apollinarius followed.* And in his Preface upon the Commentaries of *Victorinus* upon the *Apocalypse*, thus he writes, — *before him Papias Bishop of Hierapolis, and Nepos Bishop in the Parts of Egypt taught as Victorinus does touching the Kingdom of the thousand Years.*

The same is testified by *Irenæus* (*lib. 5. cont. Hæ. c. 33.*) where having at large set forth this Doctrine, he confirms it by the Authority of *Papias* in these Words. *Papias also the Auditor of John the familiar Friend of Polycarpus an ancient Man, hath testified by writing these Things in the fourth of his Books, for he hath written five.* And concerning *Papias* thus much.

That *Justin Martyr* was of the same Belief, is confessed by *Sixtus Senensis* (*Biblioth. Stæ. 1. 6. An. 347.*) by *Feverdientius* in his Premonition before the five last Chapters of the 5th Book of *Irenæus*. By *Pamelius* in *Antidoto ad Tertul. parad. paradox. 14.*

That *S. Melito*, Bishop of *Sardis*, held the same Doctrine, is confessed by *Pamelius* in the same Place: and thereupon it is that *Gennadius Massiliensis* in his Book *de Eccles. Dogmatibus*, calls the Followers of this Opinion *Melitani*; as the same *Pamelius* testifies in his Notes upon that Fragment of *Tertullian de Spe fidelium*.

*Irenæus* his Faith in this Point is likewise confessed by *Eusebius*, in the Place before quoted in these Words. *He (Papias) was the Author of the like Errour to most of the Writers of the Church, who alledged the Antiquity of the Man for a Defence of their Side, as to Irenæus, and whosoever else seemed to be of the same Opinion with him.*

By *S. Hierome*, in the Place above cited *de Script. Eccles. S. 29.* Again in *Lib. Ezek. xi.* in these Words. *For neither do we expect from Heaven a golden Hierusalem (according to the Jewish Tales which they call Deuterofis) which also many of our own have followed: Especially Tertullian in his Book de Spe Fidelium; and Lactantius in his seventh Book of Institutions, and the frequent Expositions of Victorinus Pictavionensis: And of late Severius in his Dialogue which he calls Gallus: and to name the Greeks, and to join together the first and last, Irenæus and Apollinarius.* Where we see he acknowledges *Irenæus* to be of this Opinion; but that he was the first that held it, I believe that that is more a Christian untruth than *Irenæus* his Opinion a Judaical Fable. For he himself acknowledges in the Place above cited, that *Irenæus* followed *Papias*; and it is certain and confessed that *Justin Martyr* believed it long before him: and *Irenæus* himself derives it from — *Presbyteri qui Johannem Discipulum Domini viderunt*; from Priests which saw *John* the Disciple of the Lord. Lastly, by *Pamelius*, *Sixtus Senensis*, and *Faverdientius* in the Places above quoted.

Seeing therefore it is certain, even to the Confession of the Adversaries, that *Papias*, *Justin Martyr*, *Melito*, and *Irenæus*, the most considerable and eminent Men of their Age, did believe and teach this Doctrine; and seeing it has been proved as evidently as a Thing of this Nature can be, that none of their Contemporaries opposed or condemned it? It remains according to Cardinal *Perron's* first Rule; that this is to be esteemed the Doctrine of the Church of that Age.

My second Reason I form thus. Whatsoever Doctrine is taught by the Fathers of any Age, not as Doctors, but as Witnesses of the Tradition of the Church, (that is, not as their own Opinion, but as the Doctrine of the Church of their Times) that is undoubtedly to be so esteemed; especially if none contradicted them in it. But the Fathers above cited teach this Doctrine, not as their own private Opinion, but as the Christian Tradition, and as the Doctrine of the Church, neither did any contradict them in it. *Ergo*, it is undoubtedly to be so esteemed.

The Major of this Syllogism, is Cardinal *Perron's* second Rule and Way of finding out the Doctrine of the antient Church in any Age: and if it be not a sure Rule, farewell the Use of all Antiquity. And for the *Minor* there will be little doubt of it, to him that considers, that *Papias* professes himself to have received this Doctrine by unwritten Tradition, though not from the Apostles themselves immediately, yet from their Scholars, as appears by *Eusebius* in the forecited third Book, Chapter 33.

That *Irenæus*, grounded it upon evident Scripture, and professes that he learnt it, (whether mediately or immediately I cannot tell) from *Presbyters qui Johannem Discipulum Domini viderunt*. Priests or Elders who saw *John* the Lord's Disciple, and heard of

of him what our Lord taught of those Times (of the thousand Years) and also, as he says after, from *Papias* the Auditor of *John* the Chamberfellow of *Polycarpus*, an ancient Man, who recorded it in Writing.

*Farverdentius* his Note upon this Place is very notable. *Hinc apparet* (saith he) &c. from hence it appears that *Irenæus* neither first invented this Opinion, nor held it as proper to himself, but got this Blot and Blemish from certain Fathers. *Papias*, I suppose, and some other inglorious Fellows, the familiar Friends of *Irenæus*, are here intended.

I hope then, if the Fathers which lived with the Apostles had their Blots and Blemishes, it is no such horrid Crime for *Calvin* and the *Century Writers* to impute the same to their Great-grandchildren. *Ætas parentum peior avis progeniem fert vitiosorem*. But yet these inglorious Disciples of the Apostles, though perhaps not so learned as *Farverdentius*, were yet certainly so honest, as not to invent Lies, and deliver them as apostolick Tradition. Or if they were not, what Confidence can we place in any other unwritten Tradition?

Lastly, That *Justin Martyr* grounds it upon plain Prophecies of the *Old Testament*, and express Words of the *New*. He professeth, *That he, and all other Christians, of a right Belief in all Things, believe it*; joins them who believe it not, with them who deny the Resurrection; or else says, that none denied this, but the same who denied the Resurrection; and that indeed they were called Christians, but in Deed and in Truth were none.

Whosoever, I say, considers these Things, will easily grant, that they held it not as their own Opinion, but as the Doctrine of the Church, and the Faith of Christians.

Hereupon I conclude, whatsoever they held, not as their private Opinion, but as the Faith of the Church, that was the Faith of the Church of their Time: But this Doctrine they held, not as *their* private Opinion, but as the Faith of the Church; *ergo*, it was and is to be esteemed the Faith of the Church.

*Trypho*. "Do ye confess that before ye expect the Coming of Christ, this Place *Hierusalem* shall be again restored, and that your People shall be congregated, and rejoice together with Christ, and the Patriarchs, and the Prophets, &c."

*Justin Martyr*. "I have confessed to you before, that both I and many others do believe, as you well know, that this shall be; but that many again, who are (not) of the pure and holy Opinion of Christians, do not acknowledge this, I have also signified unto you: For I have declared unto you, that some called Christians, but being indeed *Atheists* and impious *Hereticks*, do generally teach blasphemous, and atheistical, and foolish Things. But that you might know that I speak not this to you only, I will make a Book, as near as I can, of these our Disputations, where I will profess in Writing that which I say before you; for I resolve to follow not Men, and the Doctrines of Men, but God, and the Doctrine of God. For although you chance to meet with some that are called Christians, which do not confess this, but dare to blaspheme the God of *Abraham*, the God of *Isaac*, and the God of *Jacob*, which also say there is no Resurrection of the Dead, but that as soon as they die their Souls are received into Heaven; do not ye yet think them Christians: As neither, if a Man consider rightly, will he account the *Sadducees*, and other Sectaries and Hereticks, as the *Genists*, and the *Merists*, and *Galileans*, and *Pharisees*, and *Hellenians*, and *Baptists*, and other such, to be *Jews*; but only that they are called *Jews*, and the Children of *Abraham*, and such as with their Lips confess God (as God himself cries out) but have their Hearts far from him. But I, and all Christians that in all Things believe aright, both know that there shall be a Resurrection of the Flesh, and a thousand Years in *Hierusalem*, restored, and adorned, and enlarged; according as the Prophets *Ezekiel*, and *Esay*, and others, do testify: For thus saith *Isaiah* of the Time of this thousand Years; *For there shall be a new Heaven, and a new Earth, and they shall not remember the former, &c.*" And after,— "A certain Man amongst us, whose Name was *John*, one of the twelve Apostles of Christ, in that *Revelation* which was exhibited unto him, hath foretold,—That they which believe our Christ shall live in *Hierusalem* a thousand Years, and that after, the universal and everlasting Resurrection and Judgement shall be."

I have presumed in the Beginning of *Justin Martyr's* Answer to substitute (*not*) instead of (*also*) because I am confident, that either by Chance, or the Fraud of some Ill-willers to the *Millenaries* Opinion, the Place has been corrupted, and (s) turned into (x) (*not*) into (*also*). For if we retain the usual Reading,—*But that many who are also of the pure and holy Opinion of Christians do not acknowledge this, I have also signified unto you*; then must we conclude, that *Justin Martyr* himself did believe the Opinion of them which denied the thousand Years, to be the pure and holy Opinion of Christians: And if so, why did he not himself believe it? Nay, how could he but believe it to be true, professing it (as he does, if the Place be right) to be the pure and holy Opinion of Christians: For how a false Doctrine can be the pure and holy Opinion of Christians, what Christian can conceive? Or if it may be so, how can the contrary avoid the being untrue, unlawful, and not the Opinion of Christians?

Again, if we read the Place thus—*That many who are also of the pure and holy Opinion of Christians, do not acknowledge this, I have also signified*; certainly there will be neither Sense nor Reason, neither Coherence nor Consequence in the Words following—*For I have told you of many called Christians, but being indeed Atheists and Hereticks, that they altogether teach blasphemous, and impious, and foolish Things.* For how is this a Confirmation or Reason of, or any way pertinent unto what went before? If there he speak of none but such as were *puræ piæque Christianorum Sententiæ*, of the pure and holy Opinion of Christians. And therefore to disguise this in Consequence, the Translator has thought fit to make use of a false Translation, and instead of—*for I have told you, to make it,—besides I have told you of many, &c.* Again, if *Justin Martyr* had thought this the pure and holy Opinion of Christians, or them good and holy Christians that held it; why does he rank them with them that denied the Resurrection? Why does he say afterward—*Although you chance to meet with some that are called Christians which do not confess this, do not ye think them Christians.* Lastly, what Sense is there in saying as he does—*I and all Christians that are of a right Belief in all Things, believe the Doctrine of the thousand Years*, and that the Scriptures both of the *Old and New Testament* teach it, and yet say,—*That many of the pure and holy Opinion of Christians do not believe it?* Upon these Reasons I suppose it is evident, that the Place has been corrupted, and it is to be corrected, according as I have corrected it, by substituting *ye* in the Place of *ye* (not) instead of (*also*.) Neither need any Man think strange, that this Misfortune of the Change of a Syllable should befall this Place, who considers, that in this Place *Justin Martyr* tells us that he had said the same Things before, whereas nothing to this Purpose appears now in him. And that in *Victorinus* his Comment on the *Revelations*, wherein (by *St. Hierom's* Acknowledgment) this Doctrine was strongly maintained, there now appears nothing at all for it, but rather against it. And now from the Place thus restored, these Observations offer themselves unto us.

1. That *Justin Martyr* speaks not as a Doctor, but as a Witness of the Doctrine of the Church of his Time. I (saith he) and all Christians that are of a right Belief in all Things, hold this; and therefore from hence, according to *Cardinal Perron's* Rule, we are to conclude, not probably, but demonstratively, that this was the Doctrine of the Church of that Time.

2. That they held it as a necessary Matter, so far as to hold them no Christians that held the contrary: *Though you chance to meet with some called Christians that do not confess this, but dare to blaspheme the God of Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, &c. yet do not ye think them Christians.* Now if *Bellarmino's* Rule be true, that Councils then determine any Thing as Matters of Faith, when they pronounce them Hereticks that hold the contrary; then sure *Justine Martyr* held this Doctrine as a Matter of Faith, seeing he pronounceth them no Christians that contradict it.

3. That the Doctrine is grounded upon the Scripture of the *Old and New Testament*, and the *Revelation* of *St. John*, and that by a Doctor and Martyr of the Church, and such a one as was converted to Christianity within thirty Years after the Death of *St. John*, when in all Probability there were many alive, that had heard him expound his own Words, and teach this Doctrine. And if Probabilities will not be admitted, this is certain out of the most authentical Records of the Church, that *Papias* the Disciple of the Apostles Disciples taught it the Church, professing that he had received it from them that learned it from the Apostles: And if, after all this, the Church of those Times might err in a Doctrine so clearly derived, and authentically delivered, how without extreme Impudence, can any Church in After-times pretend to Infallibility?

The *Millenaries* Doctrine was over-born, by imputing to them that which they held not: by abrogating the Authority of *St. John's* Revelation, as some did; or by derogating from it, as others, ascribing it not to *St. John* the Apostle, but to some other *John*, they know not who: which—*Dionysius* the first known Adversary of this Doctrine, and his Followers; against the Tradition of *Irenæus*, *Justin Martyr*, and all the Fathers their Antecessors: by calling it a judaical Opinion, and yet allowing it as probable, by corrupting the Authors for it; as *Justin*, *Victorinus*, *Severus*.

#### VI. A Letter relating to the same Subject.

S I R,

I Pray remember, that if a Consent of Fathers either constitute or declare a Truth to be necessary, or shew the Opinion of the Church of their Time; then that Opinion of the *Jesuits*, concerning Predestination upon Prescience (which had no Opposer before *St. Austin*) must be so, and the contrary of the *Dominicans* heretical; and the present Church differs from the antient, in not esteeming of it as they did.

Secondly, I pray remember, that if the Fathers be infallible (when they speak as Witnesses of Tradition) to shew the Opinion of the Church of their Time, then the Opinion of the *Chiliassts*, (which now is a Heresy in the Church of *Rome*) was once Tradition in the Opinion of the Church.

Thirdly, Since *St. Austin* had an Opinion, that of whatsoever no Beginning was known, that came from the Apostles, many Fathers might say Things to be Tradition upon that Ground

Ground only; but of this Opinion of the *Chiliasists*, one of the ancientest Fathers, *Irenæus*, says, not only that it was Tradition, but sets down Christ's own Words when he taught it, and the Pedigree of the Opinion from Christ to *John* his Disciple; from him to several Priests (whereof *Papias* was one who put it in Writing) and so downwards; which can be shewn from no other Father, for no other Opinion, either controverted or uncontroverted.

Fourthly, That if *Papias*, either by his own Errour or a Desire to deceive, could cozen the Fathers of the purest Age in this, why not also in other Things? Why not in twenty as well as one? Why not twenty others as well as he?

Fifthly, That if the Fathers could be cozened, how could General Councils scape? Who, you say, make Tradition one of their Rules, which can only be known from the Fathers.

Sixthly, If they object, how could Errours come in, and no Beginning of them known? I pray remember to ask them the same Question concerning the *Millenaries*, which lasted uncontradicted until *Dionysius Alexandrinus*, two hundred and fifty Years after Christ; and if they tell you that *Papias* was the first Beginner, look in *Irenæus*, and he will tell you the contrary, (*loco citato*, l. 5. c. 33.)

Seventhly, Remember, that if I ought not to condemn the Church of *Rome* out of Scripture, because my Interpretation may deceive me; then they ought not to build their Infallibility upon it (and less upon her own Word) because theirs may deceive them; unless the same Thing may be a Wall when you lean upon it, and a Bull-rush when we do.

Eighthly, Remember that they cannot say, they trust not their Interpretation in this, but a Consent of Fathers; because the Fathers are not said to be infallible, but as they tell the Opinion of the Church of their Time, which is infallible: Therefore they must first prove out of Scripture that she is infallible, or else she (who is her self the Subject of the Question) cannot be allowed till then to give a Verdict for her self.

Ninthly, Remember the *Roman Church* claims no Notes of the Church, but what agree with the *Grecian* too (as Antiquity, Succession, Miracles, &c.) but only Communion with the Pope and Splendour; both which made for the *Arians* in *Liberius* his Time; and it were a hard Case, that because the *Greeks* are poor upon Earth, they should be shut out of Heaven.

Tenthly, Remember that if we have an infallible Way, we have no use (at least no necessity) of an infallible Guide; for if we may be saved by following the Scripture as near as we can (though we err) it is as good as any Interpreter to keep Unity in Charity (which is only needful) though not in Opinion; and this cannot be ridiculous, because they say, if any Man misinterpret the Council of *Trent*, it shall not damn him; and why (without more ado) may not the same be said of Scripture?

VII. *An Argument against the Infallibility of the present Church of Rome, taken from the Contradictions in your Doctrine of Transubstantiation.*

Chillingworth.



HAT Church is not infallible, which teacheth Contradictions: But the Church of *Rome* teacheth Contradictions. Therefore the Church of *Rome* is not infallible.

Mr. Daniel. I deny the *Minor*.

Chilling. That Church teacheth Contradictions, which teacheth such a Doctrine as contains Contradictions: But the Church

of *Rome* teacheth such a Doctrine: Therefore the Church of *Rome* teacheth Contradictions.

Mr. Dan. I deny the *Minor*.

Chill. The Doctrine of Transubstantiation contains Contradictions: But the Church of *Rome* teacheth the Doctrine of Transubstantiation: Therefore the Church of *Rome* teacheth such a Doctrine as contains Contradictions.

Mr. Dan. I deny the *Major*.

Chill. That the same Thing, at the same Time should have the true Figure of a Man's Body, and should not have the true Figure of a Man's Body, is a Contradiction: But in the Doctrine of Transubstantiation it is taught, that the same Thing, (*viz.* our Saviour present in the Sacrament) has the true Figure of a Man's Body, and has not the true Figure of a Man's Body at the same Time; therefore the Doctrine of Transubstantiation contains Contradictions.

Mr. Dan. The *Major*, though not having all Rules required to a contradiction (as Boys in Logick know) yet let it pass.

Chill. Boys in Logick, know no more Conditions required to a Contradiction, but that the same Thing should be affirmed and denied of the same Thing at the same Time. For my Meaning was, that that should not be accounted the same Thing, which was considered after divers Manners.

Mr. Dan. I deny the *Minor* of your Syllogism.

Chilling.

*Chilling.* I prove it, according to the several Parts of it: And first, for the first Part. He must have the Figure of a Man's Body in the Eucharist, who is there without any real Alteration or Difference from the natural Body of a Man: But our Saviour, according to the *Romish* Doctrine of Transubstantiation, is in the Sacrament without any real Alteration or Difference from the natural Body of a Man: Therefore according to this Doctrine, he must there have the Figure of a Man's Body. To the second Part, that he must not have the Figure of a Man's Body in the Sacrament, according to this Doctrine, thus I prove it. He must not have the Figure of a Man's Body in the Eucharist, which must not have Extension there: But our Saviour's Body, according to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, must not have Extension there; therefore, according to this Doctrine, he must not have the Figure of a Man's Body there. The *Major* of this Syllogism I proved, because the Figure of a Man's Body could not be without Extension. The *Minor* I proved thus; That must not have Extension in the Eucharist, whose every Part is together in one and the same Point: But according to this Doctrine, every Part of our Saviour's Body must be here in one and the same Point; therefore here it must not have Extension.

*Mr. Dan.* Answered, by distinguishing the *Major* of the first Syllogism, and said; that he must not have the true Figure of a Man's Body, according to the Reason of a Figure taken in its essential Consideration, which is to have *positionem partium sic & sic extra partes*; but not the accidental Consideration, which is in *ordine ad locum*. And this Answer he applied for the Solution of the *Minor*, saying thus, Our Saviour is there without any real Alteration intrinsecal, but not extrinsecal; for he is not changed in order to himself, but in order to place: Or otherwise, he is not altered in his continual Existence, which is only *modus essentiae*, and inseparable even by Divine Power, though altered in *modo existendi*, which is Situation, and required to figure taken in order to place.

*Chill.* Against this it was replied by *Chillingworth*: That the Distinction of a Man's Body as consider'd in it self, and as considered in reference to Place, is vain, and no Solution of the Argument: And thus he proved it; If it be impossible, that any Thing should have several Parts one out of another in order, and reference of each to other, without having these Parts in several Places; then the Distinction is vain: But it is impossible, that any Thing should have several Parts one out of another, without having these Parts in several Places; therefore the Distinction is vain.

The *Major* of this Syllogism, he took for granted.

The *Minor* he proved thus: Whatsoever Body is in the proper Place of another Body, must of necessity be in that very Body, by possessing the Dimensions of it; therefore, whatsoever hath several Parts one out of the other, must of necessity have them one out of the Place of the other; and consequently in several Places.

For illustration of this Argument he said; If my Head, and Belly, and Thighs, and Legs, and Feet, be all in the very same Place; of necessity, my Head must be in my Belly, and my Belly in my Thighs, and my Thighs in my Legs, and all of them in my Feet, and my Feet in all of them; and therefore if my Head be out of my Belly, it must be out of the Place where my Belly is; and if it be not out of the Place where my Belly is, it is not out of my Belly, but in it.

Again, to shew that according to the Doctrine of Transubstantiation, our Saviour's Body in the Eucharist, hath not the several Parts of it out of one another, he disputed thus: Wheresoever there is a Body having several Parts one out of the other, there must be some middle Parts severing the extreme Parts: But here, according to this Doctrine, the extreme Parts are not severed, but altogether in the same Point; therefore here our Saviour's Body cannot have Parts one out of the other.

*Mr. Dan.* To all this (for want of a better Answer) gave only this. *Let all Scholars peruse these.* After, upon better Consideration, he wrote by the Side of the last Syllogism this: *Quoad entitatem verum est, non quoad locum*, that is, according to Entity it is true, but not according to Place. And to (*Let all Scholars peruse these*) he caused this to be added, *And weigh whether there is any new Matter worth a new Answer.*

*Chillingworth* Replyed, That to say the extreme Parts of a Body are severed by the middle Parts according to their Entity, but not according to Place, is ridiculous. His Reasons are, first, Because severing of Things is nothing else, but putting or keeping them in several Places, as every silly Woman knows; and therefore to say, they are severed, but not according to Place, is as if you should say, they are heated, but not according to heat; they are cooled, but not according to cold: Indeed it is to say, they are severed, but not severed.

V. II. *An Account of what moved the Author to turn Papist, with his own  
Confutation of the Arguments that persuaded him thereto.*

Reconciled my self to the *Church of Rome*, because I thought my self to have  
I sufficient Reason to believe, that there was and must be always in the World  
some Church that could not err; and consequently, seeing all other Churches  
disclaimed this Privilege of not being subject to Errour, the *Church of Rome*  
must be that Church which cannot err.

I was put into Doubt of this Way which I had chosen, by *Dr. Stapleton* and others;  
who limit the Church's Freedom from Errour to Things necessary only, and such as with-  
out which the Church can be a Church no longer, but granted it subject to Errour in Things  
that were not necessary: Hereupon considering that most of the Differences between  
*Protestants* and *Roman Catholicks*, were not touching Things necessary, but only profitable  
or lawful; I concluded, that I had not sufficient Ground to believe the *Roman Church* either  
could not or did not err in any Thing, and therefore no Ground to be a *Roman Catholick*.

Against this, again I was persuaded, that it was not sufficient to believe the Church  
to be an *infallible Believer* of all Doctrines necessary; but it must also be granted an *in-  
fallible Teacher* of what is necessary; that is, that we must believe not only that the Church  
teacheth all Things necessary, but that all is necessary to be believed which the Church  
teacheth to be so; in effect, that the Church is our Guide in the Way to Heaven.

Now to believe that the Church was an infallible Guide, and to be believed in all  
Things which she requires us to believe, I was induced; First, because there was no-  
thing that could reasonably contest with the Church about this Office, but the Scripture,  
and that the Scripture was this Guide, I was willing to believe, but that I saw not how  
it could be made good, without depending upon the Church's Authority.

1. That Scripture is the Word of God.
2. That the Scripture is a perfect Rule of our Duty.
3. That the Scripture is so plain in those Things which concern our Duty, that whoso-  
ever desires and endeavours to find the Will of God, there he shall either find it, or at  
least not dangerously mistake it.

Secondly, I was drawn to this Belief, because I conceived that it was evident, out of  
the Epistle to the *Ephesians*, that there must be unto the World's End a Succession of Pa-  
stors, by adhering to whom Men might be kept from wavering in Matters of Faith,  
and from being carried up and down with every Wind of false Doctrine.

That no Succession of Pastors could guard their Adherents from Danger of Errour, if  
themselves were subject unto Errour, either in teaching that to be necessary which is not  
so, or denying that to be necessary which is so: and therefore,

That there was and must be some Succession of Pastors, which was an infallible Guide  
in the Way to Heaven, and which could not possibly teach any Thing to be necessary  
which was not so; nor any Thing not necessary which was so. Upon this Ground I con-  
cluded, that seeing there must be such a Succession of Pastors as was an infallible Guide,  
and there was no other (but that of the *Church of Rome*) even by the Confession of  
all other Societies of Pastors in the World; that therefore that Succession of Pastors is  
that infallible Guide of Faith which all Men must follow.

Upon these Grounds I thought it necessary for my Salvation to believe the *Roman*  
*Church*, in all that she thought to be, and proposed as necessary.

Against these Arguments it hath been demonstrated unto me; and First against the  
First; That the Reason why we are to believe the Scripture to be the Word of God,  
neither is nor can be the Authority of the present Church of *Rome*, which cannot make  
good her Authority any other Way, but by Pretence of Scripture; and therefore stands  
not unto Scripture, (no not in Respect of us) in the Relation of a Foundation to a  
Building, but of a Building to a Foundation, doth not support Scripture, but is support-  
ed by it. But the general Consent of Christians of all Nations and Ages, a far grea-  
ter Company than that of the *Church of Rome*, and delivering universally the Scripture  
for the Word of God, is the ordinary external Reason why we believe it; whereunto  
the Testimonies of the Jews, Enemies of Christ, add no small Moment for the Authori-  
ty of some Part of it.

That whatsoever stood upon the same Ground of universal Tradition with Scripture,  
might justly challenge Belief as well as Scripture; but that no Doctrine not written in  
Scripture, could justly pretend to as full Tradition as the Scripture, and therefore we had  
no Reason to believe it with that Degree of Faith wherewith we believe the Scripture.

That it is unreasonable to think, that he that reads the Scripture, and uses all Means  
appointed for this Purpose, with an earnest Desire, and with no other End, but to find the  
Will of God, and obey it, if he mistake the Meaning of some doubtful Places, and fall  
unwillingly into some Errours, unto which no Vice or Passion betrays him, and is willing to  
hear Reason from any Man that will undertake to shew him his Errour: I say, that it is

unreasonable to think, that a God of Goodness will impute such an Errour to such a Man.

Against the second it was demonstrated unto me, that the Place I built on so confidently, was no Argument at all for the Infallibility of the Succession of Pastors in the *Roman Church*, but a very strong Argument against it.

*First*, No Argument for it; because it is not certain, nor can ever be proved, that *St. Paul* speaks there of any Succession; *Ephes. iv. 11, 12, 13.* For let that be granted which is desired, that in *Ver. 13.* by [*until we all meet*] is meant, until all the Children of God meet in the Unity of Faith, that is, unto the World's End; yet it is not said there, that he gave Apostles and Prophets, &c. which should continue, &c. until we all meet, by connecting *Ver. 13.* to *Ver. 11.* But he gave (then upon his Ascension, and miraculously endowed) Apostles and Prophets, &c. for the Work of the Ministry, for the consummating of the Saints, for the Edification of the Body of Christ, until we all meet, that is, if you will, unto the World's End. Neither is there any Incongruity, but that the Apostles and Prophets, &c. which lived then, may in good Sense be said, now at this Time, and ever hereafter, to do those Things which they are said to do. For who can deny but *St. Paul* the Apostle and Doctor of the Gentiles, and *St. John* the Evangelist and Prophet, do at this very Time (by their Writings, though not by their Persons) do the Work of the Ministry, consummate the Saints, and edify the Body of Christ.

*Secondly*, It cannot be shewn or proved from hence, that there is or was to be any such Succession; because *St. Paul* here tells us only, that he gave such in the Time past, not that he promised such in the Time to come.

*Thirdly*, It is evident, that God promised no such Succession, because it is not certain that he hath made good any such Promise; for who is so impudent as to pretend, that there are now, and have been in all Ages since Christ, some Apostles, and some Prophets, and some Evangelists, and some Pastors and Teachers; especially such as he here speaks of, that is, endowed with such Gifts as Christ gave upon his Ascension; of which he speaks in *Ver. 8.* saying, *He led Captivity captive, and gave Gifts unto Men.* And that those Gifts were—Men endowed with extraordinary Power and supernatural Gifts—it is apparent, because these Words, *and he gave some Apostles, some Prophets, &c.* are added by way of Explication and Illustration of that which was said before—and he gave Gifts unto Men. And if any Man except hereunto, that though the Apostles and Prophets and Evangelists were extraordinary, and for the Plantation of the Gospel, yet Pastors were ordinary, and for Continuance; I answer, it is true, some Pastors are ordinary, and for Continuance, but not such as are here spoken of; not such as are endowed with the strange and heavenly Gifts, which Christ gave not only to the Apostles, and Prophets, and Evangelists, but to the inferiour Pastors and Doctors of his Church, at the first Plantation of it. And therefore *St. Paul*, in *1 Cor. xii. 28.* (to which Place we are referred by the Margin of the vulgar Translation, for the Explication of this) places this Gift of Teaching amongst, and prefers it before many other miraculous Gifts of the Holy Ghost. Pastors there are still in the Church, but not such as *Titus*, and *Timothy*, and *Apollos*, and *Barnabas*; not such as can justly pretend to immediate Inspiration and Illumination of the Holy Ghost. And therefore seeing there neither are, nor have been for many Ages in the Church, such Apostles, and Prophets, &c. as here are spoken of, it is certain he promised none; or otherwise we must blasphemously charge him with Breach of his Promise.

*Secondly*, I answer, that if by *dedit*, *he gave*, be meant, *promisit*, *he promised*, for ever; then all were promised, and all should have continued. If by *dedit* be not meant *promisit*, then he promised none such, nor may we expect any such by Virtue of, or Warrant from this Text that is here alledged. And thus much for the first Assumpt, which was, That the Place was no Argument for an infallible Succession in the Church of *Rome*.

Now for the second, That it is a strong Argument against it, thus I make it good.

The Apostles, and Prophets, and Evangelists, and Pastors, which our Saviour gave upon his Ascension, were given by him that they might consummate the Saints, do the Work of the Ministry, edify the Body of Christ, until we all come into the Unity of Faith, that we be not like Children, wavering and carried up and down with every Wind of Doctrine. The Apostles, and Prophets, &c. that then were, do not now in their own Persons, and by oral Instruction do the Work of the Ministry, to the Intent we may be kept from wavering, and being carried up and down with every Wind of Doctrine: Therefore they do this some other Way. Now there is no other Way by which they can do it, but by their Writings; and therefore by their Writings they do it: Therefore by their Writings, and Believing of them, we are to be kept from wavering in Matters of Faith: Therefore the Scriptures of the Apostles, and Prophets, and Evangelists, are our Guides: Therefore not the Church of *Rome*.

F I N I S.

*An ANSWER to some Passages in Rushworth's Dialogues, beginning at the third Dialogue, §. xii. p. 181. Ed. Paris, 1654. about TRADITIONS.*

Uncle.



O you think there is such a City as *Rome* or *Constantinople*?  
Nephew. That I do, I would I knew what I ask as well.

CHILLINGWORTH.

First, I should have answered, that in Propriety of Speech I could not say that I *knew* it, but that I did as undoubtedly *believe* it, as those Things which I did know. For though (as I conceive) we may be properly said to believe that which we know, yet we cannot say truly, that we know that which we only believe upon Report and Hearsay, be it never so constant, never so general: For seeing the Generality of Men is made up of Particulars, and every particular Man may deceive and be deceived, it is not impossible, though exceedingly improbable, that all Men should conspire to do so. Yet I deny not that the popular Phrase of Speech will very well bear, that we may say we *know* that which in Truth we only *believe*, provided the Grounds of our Belief be morally certain.

Neither do I take any Exception to the Nephew's Answers made to his Uncle's 2, 3, 4, and 5 Interrogatories. But grant willingly as to the first, that it is not much material whether I remember or not any particular Author of such a general and constant Report. Then, that the Testimony of one or two Witnesses, though never so credible, could add nothing to that Belief which is already at the Height; nay, perhaps, that my own seeing these Cities, would make no Accession, add no Degree to the Strength and Firmness of my Faith concerning this Matter, only it would change the Kind of my Assent, and make me *know* that which formerly I did but *believe*.

To the fourth, that seeming Reasons are not much to be regarded against Sense or Experience and moral Certainties (but withal I should have told my Uncle, that I fear his Supposition is hardly possible, and that the Nature of the Thing will not admit, that there should be any great, nay, any probable Reasons invented, to persuade me that there was never such a City as *London*) and therefore if any Man should go about to persuade me that there was never such a City as *London*; that there were no such Men as called themselves, or were called by others, *Protestants*, in *England*, in the Days of *Q. Elizabeth*; perhaps such a Man's Wit might delight me, but his Reasons sure would never persuade me.

Hitherto we should have gone Hand in Hand together: But whereas in the next Place he says—*In like manner then you do not doubt, but a Catholick, living in a Catholick Country, may undoubtedly know what was the publick Religion of his Country in his Father's Days, and that so assuredly, that it were a mere Madness for him to doubt thereof*—I should have craved Leave to tell my Uncle, that he presumed too far upon his Nephew's yielding Disposition. For that as it is a far more easy Thing to know, and more authentically testified, that there were some Men called *Protestants* by themselves and others, than what Opinions these *Protestants* held, diverse Men hold diverse Things, which yet were all called by this Name; so is it far more easy for a *Roman Catholick* to know, that in his Father's Days there were some Men, for their outward Communion with, and Subordination to the Bishop of *Rome*, called *Roman Catholicks*, than to know what was the Religion of those Men who went under this Name: For they might be as different one from another in their Belief, as some *Protestants* are from others.

As for Example, had I lived before the *Lateran Council*, which condemned *Berengarius*, possibly I might have known that the Belief of the *real Presence* of Christ in the Sacrament was Part of the publick Doctrine of my Country; but whether the real Absence of the Bread and Wine after Consecration, and their Transubstantiation into Christ's Body, were likewise *Catholick* Doctrines at that time; that I could not have known, seeing that all Men were at Liberty to hold it was so, or it was not so.

Moreover I should have told my Uncle, that living now, I know it is *Catholick* Doctrine, That the Souls of the Blessed enjoy the Vision of God: But if I had lived in the Reign of Pope *John XXII*, I should not have known that then it was so, considering that many good *Catholicks* before that Time had believed, and then, even the *Pope* himself did believe the contrary: And he is warranted by *Bellarmino* for doing so, because the Church had not then defined it.

I should have told him further, that either *Catholicks* of the present Time do so differ in their Belief, that what some hold lawful and pious, others condemn as unlawful and impious; or else, that all now consent, and consequently make it *Catholick* Doctrine, That it is not unlawful to make the usual Pictures of the *Trinity*, and to set them in Churches

to be adored. But had I lived in St. *Austin's* Time, I should then have been taught another Lesson; to wit, that this Doctrine and Practice was impious, and the contrary Doctrine Catholick.

I should have told him, that now I was taught that the Doctrine of Indulgences was an apostolick Tradition: But had I lived 600 Years since, and found that in all Antiquity there was no Use of them; I should either have thought the Primitive Church no faithful Steward in defrauding Mens Souls of this Treasure intended by God to them, and so necessary for them, or rather that the Doctrine of Indulgences now practised in the Church of *Rome* was not then Catholick.

I should have told him, that the general Practice of *Roman* Catholicks now taught me, that it was a pious Thing to offer Incense and Tapers to the Saints and to their Pictures: But had I lived in the primitive Church, I should, with the Church, have condemned it in the *Collyridians* as heretical.

I should have represented to him *Erasmus's* Complaint against the Protestants, whose departing from the *Roman* Church occasioned the determining and exacting the Belief of many Points as necessary, wherein, before *Luther*, Men enjoyed the Liberties of their Judgements, and Tongues, and Pens. *Antea*, says he, *licebat varias agitare quaestiones, de potestate Pontificis, de Condonationibus, de restituendo, de Purgatorio: nunc tutum non est hiscere, ne de his quidem, quae pie verèque dicuntur. Et credere cogimur, quod homo gignit ex se opera meritoria, quod benefactis meretur vitam aeternam, etiam de condigno, quod B. Virgo potest imperare Filio cum Patre regnanti ut exaudiat hujus aut illius preces, aliaque permulta ad quae pie mentes inhorrescunt.* And from hence I should have collected, as I think very probably, that it was not then such a known and certain Thing, what was the Catholick Faith in many Points which now are determined, but that divers Men who held external Communion with that Church, which now holds these as Matters of Faith, conceived themselves no Ways bound to do so, but at Liberty to hold as they saw Reason.

I should have shewed him, by the Confession of another learned Catholick, that through the Negligence of the Bishops in former Ages, and the indiscreet Devotion of the People, many Opinions and Practices were brought into the Church, which at first perhaps were but winked at, after tolerated, then approved, and at length, after they had spread themselves into a seeming Generality, confirmed for good and catholick; and that therefore there was no Certainty that they came from the Beginning whose Beginning was not known.

I should have remembred him, that even by the Acknowledgement of the Council of *Trent*, many Corruptions and Superstitions had by insensible Degrees insinuated themselves into the very Mass and Offices of the Church, which they thought fit to cast out: and therefore seeing that some Abuses have come in, God knows how, and have been cast out again, who can ascertain me that some Errours have not got in, and while Men slept (for it is apparent they did sleep) gathered such Strength, got such deep Root, and so incorporated themselves, like Ivy in a Wall, in the State and Polity of the *Roman* Church, that to pull them up had been to pull them down, by razing the Foundation on which it stands, to wit, the Church's Infallibility? Besides, as much Water passes under the Mill which the Miller sees not; so who can warrant me that some old Corruptions might not escape from them, and pass for original and apostolick Traditions? I say, *might not*, though they had been as studious to reduce all to the primitive State, as they were to preserve them in the present State; as diligent to cast out all postulate and introduced Opinions, as they were to persuade Men that there were none such, but all as truly Catholick and apostolick as they were *Roman*.

I should have declared unto him, that many Things reckoned up in the Roll of Traditions, are now grown out of Fashion, and out of Use in the Church of *Rome*; and therefore that either they believe them not, whatever they pretend, or were not so obedient to the Apostle's Command, as they themselves interpret it—*Keep the Traditions which ye have received, whether by Word, or by our Epistle.*

And seeing there have been so many Vicissitudes and Changes in the *Roman* Church; Catholick Doctrines growing exsolute, and being degraded from their Catholicism, and perhaps depressed into the Number of Heresies; Points of Indifference, or at least *Aliens* from the Faith, getting first to be Inmates, after, procuring to be made *Denizens*, and in Process of Time necessary Members of the Body of the Faith: Nay old Heresies sometimes, like old Snakes, casting their Skin and their Poison together, and becoming wholesome and Catholick Doctrines: I must have desired Pardon of my Uncle, if I were not so undoubtedly certain what was and what was not Catholick Doctrine in the Days of my Fathers.

Nay perhaps I should have gone further, and told him, That I was not fully assured what was the Catholick Doctrine in some Points, no not at this present Time. For instance, to lay the Axe unto the Root of the Tree: The Infallibility of the present Church of *Rome*, in determining Controversies of Faith, is esteemed indeed by divers that I have met with, not only an Article of Faith, but a Foundation of all other Articles. But how do I know there are not, nay why should I think there are not in the World divers good Catholicks of the same Mind touching this Matter, which *Mirandula*, *Panormitan*, *Cusamus*,

*Cusanus, Florentinus, Clemangis, Waldensis, Occham*, and divers others, were of, who were so far from holding this Doctrine the Foundation of Faith, that they would not allow it any Place in the Fabrick.

Now *Bellarmino* has taught us that no Doctrine is Catholick, nor the contrary heretical, that is denied to be so by some good Catholicks. From hence I collect, that in the Time of the forenamed Authors, this was not Catholick Doctrine, nor the contrary heretical; and being then not so, how it could since become so, I cannot well understand. If it be said, that it has since been defined by a general Council; I say, first, This is false, no Council has been so foolish as to define that a Council is infallible, for unless it were presumed to be infallible before, who or what could assure us of the Truth of this Definition? Secondly, if it were true, it were ridiculous: For he that would question the Infallibility of all Councils in all their Decrees, would as well question the Infallibility of this Council in this Decree. This therefore was not, is not, nor ever can be, an Article of Faith, unless God himself would be pleased (which is not very likely) to make some new Revelation of it from Heaven.

The *πηγάδι τῆς ἁμαρτίας*, the Fountain of the Errour in this Matter is this; That the whole Religion of the *Roman Church*, and every Point of it, is conceived or pretended to have issued originally out of the Fountain of apostolick Tradition, either in themselves, or in the Principles from which they are evidently deducible. Whereas it is evident that many of their Doctrines may be originally derived from the Decrees of Councils, many from papal Definitions, many from the Authority of some great Man; to which Purpose it is very remarkable what *Gregory Nazianzen* says of *Athanasius*; \* *What pleased him was a Law to Men, what did not please him was as a Thing prohibited by Law; his Decrees were to them like Moses his Tables, and he had a greater Veneration paid him than seems to be due from Men to Saints.*

And as memorable that in the late great Controversy about Predetermination and Free-will, disputed before Pope *Clement VII.* by the Jesuits and Dominicans. The Pope's Resolution was, if he had determined the Matter, to define for that Opinion which was most agreeable, not to Scripture, not to apostolick Tradition, nor to a Consent of Fathers, but to the Doctrine of *St. Austin*; so that if the Pope had made an Article of Faith of this Controversy, it is evident *St. Austin* had been the Rule of it.

Sometimes upon erroneous Grounds Customs have been brought in, God knows how, and after have spread themselves through the whole Church. Thus *Gordonius Huntleius* confesses, that because Baptism and the Eucharist had been antiently given both together to Men of ripe Years, when they were converted to Christianity; afterwards by Errour, when Infants were baptized, they gave the Eucharist also to Infants. This Custom in short Time grew universal, and in *St. Austin's* Time passed currently for an apostolick Tradition, and the Eucharist was thought as necessary for them as Baptism. This Custom the Church of *Rome* hath again cast out, and in so doing professed, either her no Regard to the Traditions of the Apostles, or that this was none of that Number. But yet she cannot possibly avoid but that this Example is a Proof sufficient, that many Things may get in by Errour into the Church, and by Degrees obtain the Esteem and Place of apostolick Traditions which yet are not so.

The Custom of denying the Laity the sacramental Cup, and the Doctrine that it is lawful to do so, who can pretend to derive from apostolick Tradition? Especially when the † Council of *Constance*, the Patron of it, confesses that Christ's Institution was under both Kinds, and that the faithful in the primitive Church received it in both—*Licet Christus—Although Christ after his Supper instituted and administered this venerable Sacrament under both Kinds—Although in the primitive Church this Sacrament was received by the Faithful under both Kinds—Non obstante, &c.—Yet all this notwithstanding this Custom for the avoiding of Scandals* (to which the primitive Church was as obnoxious as the present is) *was upon just Reason brought in, that Laicks should receive only under one Kind.*

Brought in therefore it was, and so is one of those Doctrines which *Lerinenfis* calls —*inducta non tradita, inventa non accepta, &c.* therefore all the Doctrine of the *Roman Church* does not descend from apostolick Tradition.

But if this Custom came not from the Apostles, from what Original may we think that it descended? Certainly from no other than from the Belief of the substantial Presence of whole Christ under either kind. For this Opinion being once settled in the Peoples Minds, that they had as much by one kind as by both; both Priest and People quickly began to think it superfluous, to do the same Thing twice at the same Time; and thereupon, being (as I suppose) the Custom required that the Bread should be received first, having received that, they were contented that the Priest should save the Pains, and the Parish the Charges of unnecessary Reiteration. This is my Conjecture, which I submit to better Judgements; but whether it be true or false, one Thing from hence is certain, That immemorial Customs may by Degrees prevail upon the Church,

\* *Τὸ τοῦ νόμου αὐτοῖς ὅτι ἐκείνη ἐδόκει, καὶ τὸ ἀπαμύσσειν πάλιν, ὃ μὴ ἐδόκει, καὶ πλάκες Μωϋσέως αὐτοῖς τὰ ἐκείνη δόγματα, καὶ πλεον τὸ σέβας ἢ παρὰ ἀνθρώπων τοῖς ἀγίοις ἐφειλέτο.* Orat. XXI. in laudem Athan.  
† *Seff. XIII.*

such as have no known Beginning nor Author, of which yet this may be evidently known; that their Beginning, whensoever it was, was many Years, nay, many Ages after the Apostles.

\* *St. Paul* commands that nothing be done in the Church but for Edification. He says, and if that be not enough, he proves in the same Place, that it is not for Edification that either publick Prayers, Thanksgiving, and Hymns to God, or Doctrine to the People should be in any Language which the Assistants generally understand not; and thereupon forbids any such Practice, though it were in a Language miraculously infused into the Speaker by the Holy Ghost; unless he himself, or some other present, could and would interpret it. He tells us, that to do otherwise is to speak into the Air; that it is to play the *Barbarians* to one another; that to such Blessings and Thanksgivings the Ignorant for want of Understanding cannot say *Amen*. He clearly intimates, that to think otherwise is to be Children in Understanding. Lastly, in the End of the Chapter he tells all that were Prophets and Spiritual among the *Corinthians*, that the Things written by him are the Commandments of God. Hereupon *Lyranus* upon the Place acknowledgeth, that in the primitive Church, Blessings and all other Service were done in the vulgar Tongue. Cardinal *Cajetan* likewise upon the Place tells us, that out of this Doctrine of *St. Paul* it is consequent, that it were better for the Edification of the Church, that the publick Prayers which are said in the Peoples hearing, should be delivered in a Language common both to the Clergy and the People. And I am confident that the learnedest Antiquary in the *Roman Church* cannot, nay, that *Baronius* himself, were he alive again, could not produce so much as one Example of any one Church, one City, one Parish, in all the Christian World, for five hundred Years after Christ, where the Sermons to the People were in one Language, and the Service in another. Now it is confessed on all Hands to be against Sense and Reason, that Sermons should be made to the People in any Language not understood by them, and therefore it follows of Necessity, that their Service likewise was in those Tongues which the People of the Place understood.

But what talk we of 500 Years after Christ? when even the *Lateran Council* held in the Year 1215, makes this Decree: *Quoniam in plerisque—Because in many Parts within the same City and Dioceſe, People are mixed of diſſerſe Languages, having under one Faith diſſerſe Rites and Faſhions, we ſtrictly command that the Biſhops of the ſaid Cities or Dioceſes provide fit and able Men, who according to the Diſſerſities of their Rites and Languages may celebrate Divine Services, and adminiſter the Sacraments of the Church, inſtructing them both in Word and Example.*

Now after all this, if any Man will ſtill maintain, that the Divine Service in unknown Tongues is a Matter of apoſtolick Tradition, I muſt needs think the World is grown very impudent.

There are diſſerſe Doctrines in the *Roman Church* which have not yet arrived to the Honour to be *Donata Civitate*, to be received into the Number of Articles of Faith; which yet preſſs very hard for it, and through the Importunity and Multitude of their Attorneys that plead for them, in Proceſs of Time may very probably be admitted. Of this Rank are the Bleſſed Virgin's immaculate Conception, the Pope's Infallibility in determining Controverſies, his Superiority to Councils, his indiſcreet Power over Princes in Temporalities, &c. Now as theſe are not yet Matters of Faith and apoſtolick Traditions, yet in After-ages, in the Days of our great Grandchildren, may very probably become ſo: ſo why ſhould we not fear and ſuſpect, that many Things now paſs currently as Points of Faith, which *Eccleſia ab Apoſtoliſ, Apoſtoli a Chriſto, Chriſtus a Deo recepit*, which perhaps in the Days of our great Grandfathers had no ſuch Reputation.

Cardinal *Perron* teaches us two Rules whereby to know the Doctrine of the Church in any Age. The firſt is, when the moſt eminent Fathers of any Age agree in the Affirmation of any Doctrine, and none of their Contemporaries oppoſe or condemn them, that is to be accounted the Doctrine of the Church. The ſecond, when one or more of theſe eminent Fathers ſpeak of any Doctrine not as Doctors, but as Witneſſes, and ſay, not, *I think ſo, or hold ſo*, but, *the Church holds and believes this to be Truth*. This is to be accounted the Doctrine of the Church. Now if neither of theſe Rules be good and certain, then we are deſtitute of all Means to know what was the publick Doctrine of the Church in the Days of our Fathers. But on the other Side, if either of them be true, we run into a worſe Inconvenience; for then ſurely the Doctrine of the Millenaries muſt be acknowledged to have been the Doctrine of the Church in the very next Age after the Apoſtles. For both the moſt eminent Fathers of that Time, and even all whole Monuments are extant, or Mention made of them, viz. *Juſtin Martyr, Irenæus, Tertullian, Melito Sardeniſis*, agree in the Affirmation of this Point, and none of their contemporary Writers oppoſe or condemn it. And beſides they ſpeak not as Doctors, but as Witneſſes, not as of their own private Opinion, but as apoſtolick Tradition, and the Doctrine of the Church.

*Horatius*, and out of him *Franciſcus à Sancta Clara*, teach us, that under the Goſpel there is no where extant any Precept of invoking Saints, and tells us that the Apoſtles Reason of their giving no ſuch Precept was, leſt the converted *Gentiles* might think them-

selves drawn over from one kind of Idolatry to another. If this Reason be good, I hope then the Position whereof it is the Reason, is true, viz. that the Apostles did neither command, nor teach, nor advise, nor persuade the converted *Gentiles* to invoke Saints, for the Reason here rendered serves for all alike: And if they did not, and for this Reason did not so; how then in God's Name comes Invocation of Saints to be an apostolick Tradition?

The Doctrines of Purgatory, Indulgences, and Prayer to deliver Souls out of Purgatory, are so closely conjoined, that they must either stand or fall together; at least, the first being the Foundation of the other two, if that be not apostolick Tradition, the rest cannot be so. And if that be so, what meant the Author of the Book of Wisdom to tell us that (after Death) *the Souls of the Righteous are in the Hand of God, and there shall no Torment touch them?* What means St. John to teach us, that they are *blessed which die in the Lord, for that they rest from their Labours.* But above all, what meant Bishop Fisher, in his Confutation of Luther's Assertion, so to prevaricate, as to me he seems to do in the 18th Art. in saying, *Multos fortasse movet, &c. Peradventure many are moved not to place too great Faith in Indulgences, because the Use of them may seem not of long standing in the Church, and a very late Invention among Christians. To whom I answer, That it \* is not certain by whom they began first to be taught. Yet some Use there was of them, as they say very antient among the Romans, which we are given to understand by the Stations which were so frequented in that City. Moreover they say Gregory the first granted some in his Time. And after, Caterum ut dicere cœpimus, &c.*—But as we were saying, there are many Things of which in the primitive Church no Mention was made, which yet upon Doubts arising are become perspicuous through the Diligence of After-times. Certainly (to return to our Business) no orthodox Man now doubts whether there be a Purgatory, of which yet among the Antients there was made very rare or no Mention. Moreover the Greeks to this very Day believe not Purgatory. Who so will, let him read the Writings of the antient Greeks, and I think he shall find no Speech of Purgatory, or else very rarely. The Latins also received not this Verity all at once, but by little and little. Neither was the Faith whether of Purgatory or Indulgences so necessary in the primitive Church as now it is; for then Charity was so fervent, that every one was most ready to die for Christ. Crimes were very rare, and those which were, were punished by the Canons with great Severity. But now a great Part of the People would rather put off Christianity than suffer the Rigour of the Canons. That not without the great Wisdom of the Holy Spirit, it hath come to pass that after the Course of so many Years the Faith of Purgatory, and the Use of Indulgences, hath been by the Orthodox generally received. As long as there was no Care of Purgatory, no Man looked after Indulgences, for all the Credit of Indulgences depends on that. Take away Purgatory, and what need is there of Indulgences. We therefore considering that Purgatory was a long while unknown: That after, partly upon Revelations, partly upon Scripture, it was believed by some, and that so at length the Faith of it was most generally received by the orthodox Church, shall easily find out some Reason of Indulgences. Seeing therefore it was so late ere Purgatory was known and received by the universal Church, who now can wonder, touching Indulgences, that in the Primitive Church there was no Use of them? Indulgences therefore began after Men had trembled a while at the Torments of Purgatory. For then it is credible the holy Fathers began to think more carefully by what Means they might provide for their Flocks a Remedy against those Torments, for them especially who had not Time enough to fulfil the Penance which the Canons enjoined.

Erasmus tells us of himself, that though he did certainly know, and could prove, that *auricular Confession*, such as is in use in the Roman Church, was not of divine Institution; yet he would not say so, because he conceived Confession a great Restraint from Sin, and very profitable for the Times he lived in, and therefore thought it expedient, that Men should rather by Error hold that necessary and commanded, which was only profitable and advised, than by believing, though truly, the Non-necessity of it, to neglect the Use of that, as by Experience we see most Men do, which was so beneficial. If he thought so of Confession, and yet thought it not fit to speak his Mind, why might he not think the like of other Points, and yet out of Discretion and Charity hold his Peace? And why might not others of his Time do so as well as he? And if so, how shall I be assured, that in the Ages before him there was not other Men alike minded, who though they knew and saw Errors and Corruptions in the Church, yet conceiving more Danger in the Remedy, than Harm in the Disease, were contented *hoc Catone*—to let Things alone as they were, lest by attempting to pluck the Ivy out of the Wall, they might pull down the Wall it self with which the Ivy was so incorporated.

Sir Edwin Sandys relates, that in his Travels he met with divers Men, who, though they believed the Pope to be Antichrist, and his Church antichristian, yet thought themselves not bound to separate from the Communion of it; nay, thought themselves bound not to do so, because the true Church was to be the Seat of Antichrist, from the Communion whereof no Man might divide himself upon any Pretence whatsoever.

And much to this Purpose is that which Charron tells us in his third *Verite*, cap. iv. §. 13, 15. That although all that which the Protestants say falsely of the Church of Rome were true, yet for all this they must not depart from it. And again, Though the Pope

\* Therefore it is not true that all the Roman Doctrines were taught by Christ and his Apostles.

were Antichrist, and the Estate of the Church were such (that is, as corrupt both in Discipline and Doctrine) as they (Protestants) pretend, yet they must not go out of it. Both these Assertions he proves at large in the above-cited Paragraphs, with very many and very plausible Reasons; which I believe would prove his Intent, had not the Corruptions of the *Roman Church* possessed and infected even the publick Service of God among them, in which their Communion was required; and did not the Church of *Rome* require the *Belief* of all her Errours as the Condition of her Communion. But howsoever, be his Reasons conclusive or not conclusive, certainly this was the professed Opinion of him and divers others; as by Name *Cassander* and *Baldwin*, who though they thought as ill of the Doctrine of the most prevailing Part of the Church of *Rome*, as Protestants do, yet thought it their Duty not to separate from her Communion. And if there were any considerable Number of considerable Men thus minded (as I know not why any Man should think there was not) then it is made not only a most difficult, but even an impossible Thing to know what was the *Catholick* Judgement of our Fathers in the Points of Controversy; seeing they might be joined in Communion, and yet very far divided in Opinion. They might all live in Obedience to the Pope, and yet some think him Head of the Church by Divine Right; others (as a great part of the *French Church* at this Day) by ecclesiastical Constitution; others by neither, but by Practice and Usurpation, wherein yet because he had Prescription of many Ages for him, he might not justly be disturbed.

All might go to Confession, and yet some only think it necessary, others only profitable. All might go to Mass and the other Services of the Church, and some only like and approve the Language of it; others only tolerate it, and wish it altered if it might be without greater Inconvenience. All might receive the Sacrament, and yet some believe it to be the Body and Blood of Christ, others only a Sacrament of it. Some that the Mass was a true and proper Sacrifice, others only a commemorative Sacrifice, or the Commemoration of a Sacrifice. Some that it was lawful for the Clergy to deny the Laity the sacramental Cup; others that it was lawful for them to receive it in one Kind only, seeing they could not in both. Some might adore Christ as present there according to his Humanity, others as present according to his divine Nature only. Some might pray for the Dead as believing them in Purgatory; others upon no certain Ground, but only that they should rather have their Prayers and Charity which wanted them not, than that they which did want them should not have them. Some might pray to Saints upon a Belief that they heard their Prayers, and knew their Hearts; others might pray to them, meaning nothing but to pray by them, that God for their Sakes would grant their Prayers; others, thirdly, might not pray to them at all, as thinking it unnecessary; others, as fearing it unlawful, yet because they were not fully resolved, only forbearing it themselves, and not condemning it in others.

*Uncle.* I pray you then remember also what it is that Protestants do commonly taunt and check Catholics with; is it not that they believe Traditions?

*Nephew.* It is a mere Calumny that Protestants condemn all Kind of Traditions, who subscribe very willingly to that of *Vincentius Lerinensis*: That Christian Religion is—*res tradita, non inventa*; a Matter of Tradition, not of Man's Invention; is what the Church received from the Apostles, (and by Consequence what the Apostles delivered to the Church) and the Apostles from Christ, and Christ from God. *Cheremius*, in his Examination of the Council of *Trent*, hath liberally granted seven Sorts of Traditions, and Protestants find no Fault with him for it. Prove therefore any Tradition to be apostolick, which is not written; shew that there is some known Word of God, which we are commanded to believe, that is not contained in the Books of the *Old* and *New Testament*, and we shall quickly shew that we believe God's Word because it is God's, and not because it is written. If there were any Thing not written which had come down to us with as full and universal a Tradition as the unquestioned Books of canonical Scripture, that Thing should I believe as well as the Scripture; but I have long sought for some such Thing, and yet I am to seek: Nay I am confident no one Point in Controversy between Papists and Protestants can go in upon half so fair Cards, for to gain the Esteem of an apostolick Tradition, as those Things which are now decried on all Hands, I mean the Opinion of the *Chiliasm*, and the *Communicating Infants*. The latter, by the Confession of Cardinal *Perron*, *Maldonate*, and *Binius*, was the Custom of the Church for 600 Years at least. It is expressly and in Terms vouched by *St. Austin* for the Doctrine of the Church, and an apostolick Tradition; it was never instituted by a general Council, but in the use of the Church as long before the first general Council as *St. Cyprian* before that Council; there is no known Author of the Beginning of it; all which are the catholick Marks of an apostolick Tradition; and yet this you say is not so, or if it be, why have you abolished it? The former lineally derives its Pedegree from our Saviour to *St. John*: from *St. John* to *Papias*; from *Papias* to *Justin Martyr*, *Irenaeus*, *Melito Sardenfis*, *Tertullian*, and others of the two first Ages; who as they generally agree in the Affirmation of this Doctrine, and are not contradicted by any of their Predecessors; so some of them at least speak to the Point not as Doctors but as Witnesses, and deliver it for the Doctrine of the Church and apostolick Tradition, and condemn the contrary as Heresy. And therefore if there be any unwritten Traditions, these certainly must be admitted first:  
Or

Or if these which have so fair Pretence to it, must yet be rejected; I hope then we shall have the like Liberty to put back Purgatory, and Indulgences, and Transubstantiation, and the *Latin Service*, and the Communion in one Kind, &c. none of which is of Age enough to be Page to either of the forenamed Doctrines, especially the Opinion of the *Millenaries*.

*Uncle*. What think you means this Word Tradition? No other Thing certainly but that we confute all our Adversaries by the Testimony of the former Church; saying unto them, this was the Belief of our Fathers; thus were we taught by them, and they by theirs, without Stop or Stay till you come to Christ.

*Nephew*. We confute our Adversaries by saying thus—Truly a very easy Confutation: But saying and proving are two Mens Offices; and therefore though you be excellent in the former, I fear when it comes to the Tryal, you will be found defective in the latter.

*Uncle*. And this no other but the *Roman Church* did or could ever pretend to, which being in Truth undeniable, and they cannot chuse but grant the Thing; their last Refuge is to laugh, and say that both Fathers and Councils did err because they were Men, as if Protestants themselves were more. Is it not so as I tell you?

*Nephew*. No indeed, it is not by your Leave, good *Uncle*. For first the *Greek Church*, as every Body knows, pretends to perpetual Succession of Doctrine, and undertakes to derive it from Christ and his Apostles, as confidently as we do ours. Neither is there any Word in all this Discourse, but might have been urged as fairly and as probably for the *Greek Church*, as for the *Roman*. And therefore, seeing your Arguments fight for both alike, they must either conclude for both, which is a direct Impossibility, for then Contradictions should be both true; or else, which is most certain, they conclude for neither, and are not Demonstrations as you pretend (for never any Demonstration could prove both Parts of a Contradiction) but mere Sophisms and Captions, as the Progress of our Answer shall justify.

Secondly, It is so far from Protestants to grant the Thing you speak of, to wit, that the controverted Doctrines of the *Roman Church* came from apostolick Tradition, that they verily believe, should the Apostles now live again, they would hardly be able to find amongst you the Doctrine which they taught, by reason of Abundance of Trash and Rubbish which you have laid upon it.

And lastly, they pretend not that Fathers and Councils may err, and they cannot; nor that they were Men, and themselves are not; but that you do most unjustly and vainly to father your Inventions of Yesterday upon the Fathers and Councils.

*Uncle*. I know that we Catholics do reverence Traditions as much as Scripture itself; neither do I see why we should be blamed for it; for the Words which Christ and his Apostles spake, must needs be as infallible as those which were written.

*Nephew*. True. But still the Question depends, whether Christ and his Apostles did indeed speak those Words you pretend they did. We say with *Irenaeus*, *Præconia verunt primum, scripserunt postea*; what they preached first, they wrote afterwards. We say with *Tertullian*—(*Ecclesiæ*) *Apostoli condiderunt, ipsi eis prædicando, tam viva quod aiunt voce, quam per Epistolas postea*—the Apostles founded the Churches by their Preaching to them; first by Word of Mouth, then after by their Writings. If you can prove the contrary, do so, and we yield; but hitherto you do nothing.

*Uncle*. And as for the Keeping of it, I see the Scripture itself is beholden to Tradition (God's Providence presupposed) for the Integrity both of the Letter and the Sense. Of the Letter it is confessed; of the Sense manifest. For the Sense being a distinct Thing from the naked Letter, and rather fetch'd out by Force of Consequence, than in express and formal Terms contained (which is most true whether we speak of *Protestant* Sense or the *Catholic*) it belongeth rather to Tradition than express Text of Scripture.

*Nephew*. That which you desire to conclude, is, That we must be beholden to Tradition for the Sense of Scripture; and your Reason to conclude this, is, because the Sense is fetched out by Force of Consequence. This of some Places of Scripture is not true, especially those which belong to Faith and good Manners, which carry their Meaning in their Foreheads. Of others it is true, but nothing to the Purpose in Hand, but rather directly against it. For who will not say, if I collect the Sense of Scripture by Reason, then I have it not from Authority; that is, unless I am mistaken, If I fetch it out by Force of Consequence, then I am not beholden to Tradition for it. But the Letter of Scripture hath been preserved by Tradition, and therefore why should we not receive other Things upon Tradition as well as Scripture? I answer, The *Jews* Tradition preserved the Books of the old Testament, and why then doth our Saviour receive these upon their Tradition, and yet condemn other Things which they suggested as Matters of Tradition? If you say, it was because these Traditions came not from *Moses*, as they were pretended; I say also that yours are only pretended, and not proved to come from the Apostles. Prove your Tradition of these Additions as well as you prove the Tradition of Scripture, and assure your selves, we then, according to the Injunction of the Council of *Trent*, shall receive both with equal Reverence.

*Uncle*. As it may appear by the Sense of these few Words; *Hoc est Corpus meum*, whether you take the *Protestant* or the *Catholic* Sense: For the same Text cannot have two contrary

Senses of itself, but as they are fetch'd out by Force of Argument; and therefore what Sense hath best Tradition to shew for itself, that's the Truth.

*Nephew.* This is neither Protestant nor Catholick Sense; but, if we may speak the Truth, direct Nonsense. For what if the same Text cannot have contrary Senses; is there therefore no Means but Tradition to determine which is the true Sense? What Connexion, or what Relation is there between this Antecedent and this Consequent? Certainly they are mere Strangers to one another, and until they met by chance in this Argument, never saw each other before. He that can find a third Proposition to join them together in a good Syllogism, I profess unto you,—*Erit mihi magnus Apollo*—But what if of these two contrary Senses, the one, that is the literal, draw after it a long Train of Absurdities; the other, that is, the figurative, do not so? Have we not Reason enough, without advising with Tradition about the Matter, to reject the literal Sense, and embrace the spiritual? *St. Austin* certainly thought we had; for he gives us this Direction in his Book *de Doctrina Christiana*, and the first and fittest Text that he could chuse to exemplify his Rule, what think you is it? even the Cousin-German to that which you have made Choice of; *Unless you eat the Flesh of the Son of Man, &c.* Here, saith he, the Letter seems to command Impiety: *Figura est ergo*; therefore it is a Figure commanding to feed devoutly upon the Passion of our Lord, and to lay up in our Memory that Christ was crucified for us.

*Uncle.* These Particulars, peradventure, would require a further Discussion; and now I will take nothing but what is undeniable. As this is, to wit, That what Points are in Controversy betwixt us and Protestants, we believe to have been delivered by Christ and his Apostles to our Forefathers, and by them delivered from Hand to Hand to our Fathers, whom we know to have delivered them for such to us, and to have received and believed them for such themselves.

#### CHILLINGWORTH.

Certainly, though Ink and Paper cannot blush, yet I dare say you were fain to rub your Forehead over and over before you committed this to Writing. Say what you list, for my Part, I am so far from believing you, that I verily believe you do not believe yourselves, when you pretend that you believe those Points of your Doctrine which are in Controversy, to have been delivered to your Forefathers by Christ and his Apostles. Is it possible that any sober Man who has read the New Testament, should believe that Christ and his Apostles taught Christians, that it was fit and lawful to deny the Laity the sacramental Cup; that it was expedient, and for the Edification of the Church, that the Scripture should be read, and the publick Worship of God perpetually celebrated, in a Language which they understand not, and to which, for Want of Understanding, (unless *St. Paul* deceive us) they cannot say *Amen*: Or is it reasonable you should desire us to believe you, when your own Men, your own Champions, your own Councils confess the contrary?

Does not the Council of *Constance* acknowledge plainly, That the Custom which they ratified, was contrary to Christ's Institution, and the Custom of the Primitive Church? And how then was it taught by Christ and his Apostles?

Do not *Cajetan* and *Lyrans* confess ingenuously, that it follows evidently from *St. Paul*, that it is more for Edification, that the Liturgy of the Church should be in such a Language as the Assistants understand?

The like Confession we have from others concerning Purgatory and Indulgences.

Others acknowledge the Apostles never taught Invocation of Saints.

*Rhenanus* says as much touching auricular Confession.

It is evident from *Peter Lombard*, that the Doctrine of Transubstantiation was not a Point of Faith in his Time.

From *Picus Mirandula* that the Infallibility of the Church was no Article, much less a Foundation of Faith in his Time.

*Bellarmino* acknowledges that the Saints enjoying the Vision of God before the Day of Judgement, was no Article of Faith in the Time of Pope *John XXII*.

But as the Proverb is, When Thieves fall out, true Men recover their Goods; so how small and heartless the Reverence of the Church of *Rome* is to antient Tradition, cannot be more plainly discovered, than by the Quarrels which her Champions have amongst themselves, especially about the immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin.

The Patrons of the negative Opinion, *Cajetan*, *Bannes*, *Bandellus*, and *Canus*, alledge for it, first, an whole Army of Scriptures, Councils, and Fathers, agreeing unanimously in this Doctrine, that only Christ was free from Sin. Then an innumerable Multitude of Fathers expressly affirming the very Point in Question, not contradicted by any of their Contemporaries or Predecessors, or indeed of their Successors for many Ages.

All the holy Fathers agree in this, that the Virgin *Mary* was conceived in original Sin. So *Bannes* <sup>b</sup>.

*Cajetan* brings for it fifteen Fathers, in his Judgement irrefragable; others produce two hundred, *Bandellus* almost three hundred. Thus <sup>c</sup> *Salmeron*.

<sup>b</sup> In *Past.* primum, q. 1. Art. 8. Dub. 5.

<sup>c</sup> *Disp.* 51. in *Ep. ad Rom.*

That all the holy Fathers who have fallen upon the Mention of this Matter, with one Mouth affirm, that the blessed Virgin was conceived in original Sin. So *Canus* <sup>a</sup>.

And after—That the contrary Doctrine has neither Scripture nor Tradition for it. For (saith he) no Traditions can be derived unto us but by the Bishops and holy Fathers, the Successors of the Apostles, and it is certain that those antient Writers received it not from their Predecessors.

Now against this Stream of antient Writers, when the contrary new Doctrine came in, and how it prevailed, it will be worth the considering.

The first that set it abroad, was *Richardus de Sancto Victore*, as his Countryman <sup>b</sup> *Jo-hannes Major* testifies of him—He was expressly the first that held the Virgin Mary free from original Sin—Or, he was the first that expressly held so. So after upon this false Ground, which had already taken deep Root in the Heart of Christians, That it was impossible to give too much Honour to her that was the Mother of the Saviour of the World; like an ill Weed, it grew and spread apace. So that in the Council of *Basil* <sup>c</sup>, (which *Binius* tells us was reprobated but in Part, to wit, in the Point of the Authority of Councils, and in the Deposition of *Eugenius* the Pope) it was defined and declared to be holy Doctrine, and consonant to the Worship of the Church, to the catholick Faith, to right Reason, and the holy Scripture, and to be approved, held, and embraced by all Catho-licks; and that it should be lawful for no Man for the Time to come to preach or teach the contrary. The Custom also of keeping the Feast of her holy Conception, which before was but particular to the *Roman* and some other Churches, and it seems somewhat neglected, was then renewed and made universal, and commanded to be celebrated—*Sub nomine Conceptionis*—Under the Name of the Conception. *Binius* in a marginal Note tells us indeed, That they celebrate not this Feast in the Church of *Rome*, by Virtue of this Renovation,—*cum esset Conciliabulum*—being this was the Act not of a Council, but of a Conventicle; yet he himself in his Index styles it the œcumenical Council of *Basil*, and tells that it was reprobated only in two Points, of which this is none. Now whom shall we believe, *Binius* in his Margin, or *Binius* in his Index?

Yet in After-times Pope *Sixtus IV.* and *Pius V.* thought not this Decree so binding, but that they might and did again put Life into the condemned Opinion, giving Liberty by their Constitutions to all Men to hold and maintain either Part; either that the blessed Virgin was conceived with original Sin, or was not. Which Constitution of *Sixtus IV.* the Council of *Trent* renewed and confirmed <sup>d</sup>.

But the Wheel again turning, and the negative Opinion prevailing, the Affirmative was banished, first by a Decree of *Paul V.* from all publick Sermons, Lectures, Conclusions, and all publick Acts whatsoever; and since, by another Decree of *Gregory XV.* from all private Writings, and private Conferences.

But yet all this contents not the University of *Paris*. They, as *Salmeron* tells us, admit none to the Degree of Doctor of Divinity, unless they first bound themselves by solemn Oath to maintain the immaculate Conception of the blessed Virgin.

Now I beseech you, Mr. R—, consider your Courses with some Indifference.

First, you take Authority upon you, against the universal, constant, unopposed Tradition of the Church for many Ages; to set up as a Rival a new upstart Yesterday's Invention, and to give all Men Liberty to hold which they please. So Pope *Sixtus IV.* the Council of *Trent*, and *Pius V.* that is, you make it lawful to hold the antient Faith, or not to hold it, nay, to hold the contrary. This is high Presumption. But you stay not here: For,

Secondly, The antient Doctrine you cloister and hook up within the narrow, close, and dark Rooms of the Thoughts and Brains of the Defenders of it, forbidding them upon Pain of Damnation, so much as to whisper it in their private Discourses and Writings; and in the mean Time the new Doctrine you set at full Liberty, and give Leave, nay Countenance and Encouragement to all Men to employ their Time, and Wits, and Tongues, and Pens, in the Maintenance and Propagation of it. Thus *Paul V.* and *Gregory XV.* Yet this is not all: For,

Thirdly, You bind Men by Oaths to defend the new Opinion, and to oppose the antient. So the University of *Paris*. Yet still you proceed farther: For,

Fourthly, By your general Councils, confirmed by your Popes, you have declared and defined, that this new Invention is agreeable, and consequently that the antient Doctrine is repugnant to the catholick Faith, to Reason, to the Holy Scripture. So the Council of *Basil*.

These Things I entreat you to weigh well in your Consideration, and put not into the Scale above a just Allowance, not above three Grains of Partiality, and then tell me whether you can with Reason or with Modesty suppose or desire that we should believe, or think that you believe, that all the Points of Doctrine which you contest against us, were delivered at first by Christ and his Apostles, and have ever since by the Succession of Bishops and Pastors been preserved inviolate, and propagated unto you.

<sup>a</sup> Lib. VII. Loc. cap. r. cap. 3, n. 9. <sup>b</sup> *Omnia exorsse p. imus Christiferam virginem originalis noxx expertem tenuit. De gestis Scotorum, III. 12.*

<sup>c</sup> Sess. 36.

<sup>d</sup> Sess. 5.

The Patrons, I confess, of this new Invention set not much by the Decree of the Council of *Basil* for it, but plead very hard for a full and final Definition of it from the See apostolick; and finding the conspiring Opposition of the antient Fathers to be the main Impediment of their Purpose, it is strange to see how confidently they ride over them.

First, Says <sup>a</sup> *Salmeron* in the Place forecited, *They press us with a Multitude of Doctors, of whom we must not say that they err in a Matter of such Moment.*

We answer, says he, out of *St. Austin* <sup>b</sup>, and the Doctrine of *St. Thomas*, That the Argument drawn from Authority is weak. Then to that Multitude of Doctors we oppose another Multitude.

Thirdly, We object to the contrary the Efficacy of Reasons, which are more excellent than any Authority.

Some of them reckon two hundred Fathers, others, as *Bandellus*, almost three hundred, *Cajetan* fifteen, but those as he says irrefragable. But as a wise Shepherd said—*Pauperis est numerare pecus.* Some of those whom they produce are of an exote Authority, and scarce worthy of Memory.

Lastly, Against this objected Multitude we answer with the Word of God, <sup>c</sup> Thou shalt not follow a multitude to do evil; neither shalt thou in Judgement yield to the Sentence of many to depart from the Truth. For when the Donatists gloried in the Multitude of their Authors, *St. Austin* answered, It was a Sign of a Cause destitute of Truth, to rely only upon the Authority of many Men which may err.

It falls out sometimes also, that from some one Doctor, especially if he be famous, proceeds a Multitude of Followers of his Opinion, and some taken with an humble and pious Fear, chuse rather to follow the Opinion of another against their Mind, than to bring out of their own Wit any Thing new, lest they should so bring any new Thing into the Church. Whose Humility, as it is to be praised, so the Confidence of others is not to be condemned, who for the Love of Truth fear not to bring in better Things. Thus *St. Hierom*, in his Sermon of the Assumption, if it be his, fears to affirm that the Virgin Mary is assumed into Heaven, and thinks it rather to be piously desired, than rashly defined. But *St. Austin* <sup>d</sup> more happily dared to affirm it, and settle it with many Arguments, by which Adventure this the Church hath gained, that persuaded by his Reasons she hath believed it, and celebrates it in her Worship.

But they fetch their Arguments from the Antiquity of the Doctors, to which always greater Honour was given than to Novelties. But I answer, old Men are Praisers of antient Times, but we affirm, the younger the Doctors are, the more perspicuous. Moreover we say, that although they were antient, yet they were Men, and themselves held under the Darknes of original Sin, and might err. But go to, who are these Antients? are they Apostles? are they *Ambrose*, or *Hierom*, or *Austin*? But none of them discuss'd this Controversy on Purpose.

*Chrysostom* is opposed in his Commentary on *St. Matthew*, where he saith, Though Christ were not a Sinner, yet he has human Nature from a Sinner. Understand (says *Salmeron*) from her who of herself, and according to the Condition of Nature, was a Sinner. *Thomas* says, that *Chrysostom* speaks exorbitantly, for he constitutes the Virgin under actual Sin; or that the Commentaries which go up and down under his Name are not his; or that these Passages are adjectitious; or, if they be indeed his, with the good Leave and Favour of so great a Man, they are to be rejected. Neither ought any Man to marvel, that he, and *Bernard*, and *Thomas*, and *Bonaventure*, and *Alexander of Ales*, and *Albert*, and *Durand*, and *Egidius*, and, lastly, the greater Part followed that Opinion; both because they were Men, and because in Progress of Time, new Mysteries are revealed which before were unknown—For as Holiness of Life purgeth no Man from Sin, so it frees no Man from Danger of Error.—Every Age finds out some Verities proper to it self, which the former Ages were ignorant of—And there in the Margin, Every Age hath its peculiar divine Revelations.

Thus far *Salmeron*, by whom we may see, that Protestants are not the only Men who say that the Fathers may err; but that Roman Catholics too can and dare valiantly break through and tread under their Feet (though perhaps with Cap in Hand, and some Shew of Reverence) and even ride over whole Bands of Fathers when they stand in their Way.

Another great Achilles for the same Opinion is one *Joannes Baptista Porta*, a Jesuit, and Professor of Divinity at *Complutum*; he, in his fourth Book of his *Elucidarium Deiparae*, pleades very earnestly to have it defined, and labours very lustily to remove all Exceptions to the contrary, but above all, those many ones—That there is no Tradition for it, That the Stream of antient Tradition is against, and therefore well and worthily may it be condemned for an Heresy; but to be canonized among the Articles of Faith, it can with no Reason expect.

To the second Exception he brings two Answers, which *Salmeron* it seems forgot, in the Prosecution whereof he hath many excellent Passages, which I have thought good to cull out of him, to evidence the wonderful Reverence and constant Regard of the present Church of Rome to the Tradition of the Antients.

The first, That it is possible the Writings of the Fathers out of which these Testimonies against the immaculate Conception are taken, may be corrupted: But to shew it proba-

<sup>a</sup> Disp. 51. in Epist. ad Rom. <sup>b</sup> De moribus Ecclesiae, l. 1. cap. 2. <sup>c</sup> Exod. xxiii. 2. <sup>d</sup> In the Margin here he says, The Doctrine of *St. Austin* alone hath brought into the Church the Worship of the blessed Virgin's Assumption.

ble they are so in these Places, he speaks not one Word of Sense, nor so much as any colourable Reason, unless this may pass for one (as perhaps it may where Reasons are scarce,) No Proposition which contradicts the common Judgement of the Fathers can be probable: \* But it is *de Fide* that our Opinion is probable; for the Council of *Trent* hath made it so, by giving Liberty to all to hold it: Therefore without doubt we must hold, that it is not (whatsoever it seems) against the common Judgement of the Fathers. This Argument, saith he, doth most illustriously convince the Followers of the contrary Opinion, That they ought not to dare affirm hereafter, that their Opinion flows from the common Judgement and Writings of the antient Doctors.

His second Answer is, That whereas *Bandillus*, and *Cajetan*, &c. produce general Sayings of *Irenaeus*, *Origen*, *Athanasius*, *Theophilus Alexandrinus*, *Greg. Nyssen*, *Basil*, *Greg. Naz. Cyprian*, *Hierom*, *Fulgentius*, and in a Manner of all the antient Fathers, exempting Christ alone from, and consequently concluding the Virgin *Mary* under original Sin, which Argument must needs conclude, if the Virgin *Mary* be not Christ. His Answer, I say, is, These Testimonies have little or no Strength; for did they conclude, we must then (let us in God's Name) say that the Virgin *Mary* committed also many venial Sins: For the Scriptures, Fathers, and Councils set forth in Propositions as universal, That there is no Man but Christ who is not often defiled, at least with smaller Sins, and who may not justly say that Petition of our Lord's Prayer, *Dimitte nobis debita nostra*.

An Answer I confess as fit as a Napkin to stop the Mouths of his domestick Adversaries, though no Way fit to satisfy their Reason. But this Man little thought there were *Protestants* in the World, as well as *Dominicans*, who will not much be troubled by Thieves falling out, to recover more of their Goods than they expected, and to see a prevaricating Jesuit, instead of stopping one Breach in their ruinous Cause, to make two. For whereas this Man argues from the Destruction of the Consequent to the Destruction of the Antecedent, thus; If these Testimonies were good and concluding, then the Virgin *Mary* should have been guilty not only of original, but also of actual Sin: But the Consequent is false and blasphemous; therefore the Antecedent is not true. They on the other Side argue, and sure with much more Reason, and much more Conformity to the antient Tradition, from the Assertion of the Antecedent to the Assertion of the Consequent, thus; If these Testimonies be good and concluding, then the blessed Virgin was guilty both of original Sin and actual: But the Testimonies are good and concluding; therefore she was guilty even of actual Sins, and therefore much more of original.

His third Answer is, That their Church hath, or may define many other Things against which (if their Works be not depraved) there lies a greater Consent of Fathers, than against the immaculate Conception, and therefore why not this?

The Instances he gives are four.

1. That the blessed Virgin committed no actual Sin.
2. That the Angels were not created before the visible World.
3. That the Angels are incorporeal.
4. That the Souls of Saints departed are made happy by the Vision of God before the Day of Judgement.

Against the first Opinion he alledges direct Places out of *Origen* which he says admit no Exposition; though *Pamelius* upon *Tertullian*, and *Sixtus Senensis* labour in vain to put a good Sense on them—Out of *Euthymias* and *Theophylact*; out of *St. Chrysostom* divers pregnant Testimonies, and *St. Thomas* his Confession touching one of them, out of the Author of the Questions of the New and Old Testament, in *St. Austin*, cap. 75. Out of *St. Hilary* upon *Psal. cxviii.* which Words yet, says he, *Tolet* has drawn to a good Construction; yet so much Difficulty still remains in them—Out of *Tertullian de carne Christi*, cap. 7. which he tells us will not be salved by *Pamelius* his Gloss—Out of *Athanasius*, out of *Irenaeus III.* 18. out of *St. Austin*, lib. 2. *de Symbolo ad Catech.* cap. 5. whose Words, yet because they admit, says *Pozz*, some Exposition, I thought fit to suppress, though some think they are very hard to be avoided. Out of *Greg. Nyss.*—Out of *St. Cyprian* in his Sermon on the Passion; whose Words, says he, though they may by some Means be eluded, yet will always be very difficult if we examine the Antecedents and Consequents. Out of *Anselm*, *Rich. de St. Victor*, *St. Ambrose*, *St. Andrew of Hierusalem*, and *St. Bede*, and then tells us there are many other Testimonies much resembling these; and besides many Fathers and Texts of Scripture which exempt Christ only from actual Sin; and lastly, many suspicious Sayings against her Immunity in them, who use to say, that at the Angel's Annunciation she was cleansed, and purged, and expiated from all Faults committed by her Freewill, which, saith he, though *Canisius* and others explicate in a pious Sense, yet at least they shew, that either those alledged against the immaculate Conception are as favourably to be expounded; or we must say, that a Verity may be defined by the See apostolick against the Judgement of some Fathers.

From these Things, says he, is drawn an unanswerable Reason, that for the defining the Purity of the Conception, nothing now is wanting. For seeing, notwithstanding more and more convincing Testimonies of Fathers who either did, or did seem to ascribe

\* I should rather subsume, but this does so; therefore not probable.

actual Sin to the blessed Virgin; notwithstanding the universal Sayings of Scripture and Councils bringing all, except Christ, under Sin: Lastly, notwithstanding the Silence of the Scriptures and Councils touching her Immunity from actual Sin, seeing notwithstanding all this, the Council of *Trent* hath either decreed, or hath confirmed, it being before decreed by the Consent of the Faithful, that the blessed Virgin never was guilty of any voluntary, no not the least Sin; it follows certainly, that the apostolick See hath as good, nay better Ground, to enrol amongst her Articles the Virgin's immaculate Conception: The Reason is clear, for neither are there so many nor so evident Sentences of Fathers which impute any Fault or Blemish to the Conception of the Mother of God, as there are in Appearance to charge her with actual Offences. Neither are there fewer universal Propositions in Scripture, by which it may be proved that only Jesus was free from actual Sin, and therefore that the Virgin *Mary* fell into it. Neither can there at this Time be desired a greater Consent of the Faithful, nor a more ardent Desire than there now is, that this Verity should be defined, and that the contrary Opinion should be anathematized for erroneous and heretical. The Words of the Council of *Trent* on which this Reason is grounded, are these:

*If any Man say, That a Man all his Life long may avoid all, even venial Sins, unless by special Privileges from God, as the Church holds of the blessed Virgin, let him be Anathema.* But if the Consent of the Church hath prevailed against more clear Testimonies of antient Fathers, even for that which is favoured with no express Authority of Scriptures or Councils; and if the Council of *Trent*, upon this Consent of the Faithful, hath either defined this Immunity of the Virgin from all actual Sin, or declared it to be defined, who then can deny but that the Church hath immediate Power to define among the Articles of Faith, the pious Opinion of the immaculate Conception?

His second Example, by which he declares the Power of their Church to define Articles against a Multitude of Fathers (and consequently not only without, but against Tradition) is the Opinion that Angels were not created before the corporeal World was created; which, saith he, is or may be defined, though there were more Testimonies of Fathers against it, than against the immaculate Conception. So he says in the Argument of his fifth Chapter. And in the End of the same Chapter; The Council of *Lateran* hath defined this against the express Judgement of twenty Fathers; of which *Nazianzen*, *Basil*, *Chrysostom*, *Cyril*, *Hierom*, *Ambrose*, and *Hilary*, are Part.

His third Example to the same Purpose, is the Opinion that Angels are incorporeal; against which, saith he, in the Argument of his sixth Chapter, there are more Testimonies of the Fathers, than against the immaculate Conception; and yet it is, or at least may be defined by the Church. And in the End of the Chapter, I have for this Opinion cited twenty three Fathers, which as most Men think is now condemned in the *Lateran* Council; or at least, as *Suarez* proves, is to be rejected as manifestly temerarious.

His fourth and last Example to the same Purpose is the Opinion that the Souls of Saints departed enjoy the Vision of God before the Resurrection. Against which he tells us in the first Place was the Judgement of Pope *John XXI.* though not as a Pope, but as a private Doctor. Then he musters up against it a great Multitude of *Greek* and *Latin* Fathers, touching which he says—All these Testimonies when *Vasquez* has related, at length he answers, that they might be so explained as to say nothing against the true and catholick Doctrine; yet if they could not be so explained, their Authority ought not to hinder us from embracing that which the Church hath defined. The same Argument I make (says *Pozz*;) The Fathers and antient Doctors which are objected against the pious Opinion of the Conception of the Virgin may be commodiously explicated, or at least so handled that they shall not hurt; notwithstanding, though they cannot be explicated, some of them, that their Testimonies ought not to hinder, but that the See apostolick may define the blessed Virgin's Preservation from original Sin. In fine, for the Close of this Argument, he adds, *Nolo per plura*—I will not run through more Examples; these that I have reckoned are sufficient, and admonish learned Men to bring together other like Proofs, whereby they may promote the desired Determination.

<sup>b</sup> Sess. VI. c. 23. de Justificat.  
<sup>f</sup> Cap. 3.

<sup>c</sup> Firm. de summa Trinitate.

<sup>d</sup> De Angelis l. 6.

<sup>e</sup> 1. 2. D. 29. cap. 1.

